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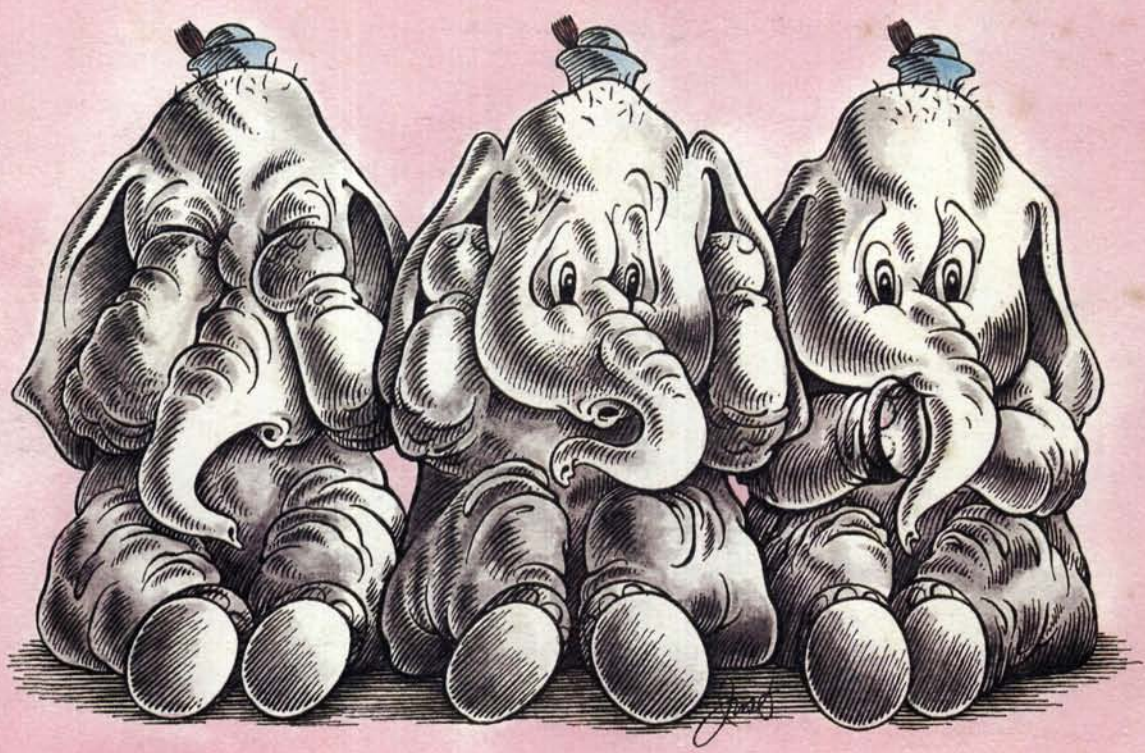
ARE CITIES DEAD? — p.50

The Sleeper Wakes: The GOP on Health Care

NATIONAL REVIEW



Republicans on Immigration

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NATIONAL REVIEW

JULY 11, 1994 VOL. XLVI, NO. 13

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The U.S. is undergoing a radical demographic change thanks to policies that Americans oppose by overwhelming margins. But when **Roy Beck** listens to what top Republicans have to say about immigration, he hears mostly the sound of silence. . . . **Forrest McDonald** finds livelier debate at the Philadelphia Society.

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The Audit Bureau

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LETTERS

Confusing the Issue

So I'm accused ["The Week," April 4] of living in libertarian la-la land for thinking that, on the whole, high levels of immigration are quite healthy for the U.S. and that, specifically, immigrants do not worsen the national crime problem. The screed against my recent *Wall Street Journal* article demonstrates a poor grasp of immigration in general, and of what I argued in particular. Go ahead and trumpet the fact that over one-quarter of federal prison inmates are aliens. Next time, however, also mention that all but a handful of states have a smaller share of aliens in their prison systems than they do in their general populations. Why the difference? Many of the aliens in federal prisons aren't immigrants at all—they're international drug traffickers whose business draws them here. This is an absolutely crucial distinction. By refusing to make it, NATIONAL REVIEW confuses the issue and performs a disservice to its readers.

John J. Miller
Manhattan Institute
Washington, D.C.

Please see the related editorial in "The Week" for the editor's reply.

The Straight Truth?

Where does one begin to comment on the incredibly stupid article "Why, Lesbians Aren't Gay," by Steve Sailer [May 30].

I'm a late-forties former naval officer, gay, ex-Catholic, ex-Republican, lots of gay and straight friends, out of the closet. *None* of the stereotypical "tendencies" listed in Mr. Sailer's table apply to me or to my gay or lesbian friends. My gay male friends are not promiscuous, do not prefer sex in a semi-public spot, are not obsessed with their own beauty, are not avid for pornography, are not into degradation, and on and on down the line of traits in the asinine table. They are architects, cooks, businessmen, doctors, teachers, college students, burger flippers. My lesbian friends are caring, fun-loving, definitely not angry women. We have cultural and political interests as varied as those of my straight friends.

I was prepared to die for this country in Vietnam, and now it is difficult for me to live in it, thanks to the homophobic garbage believed by so many Americans and published by magazines like yours.

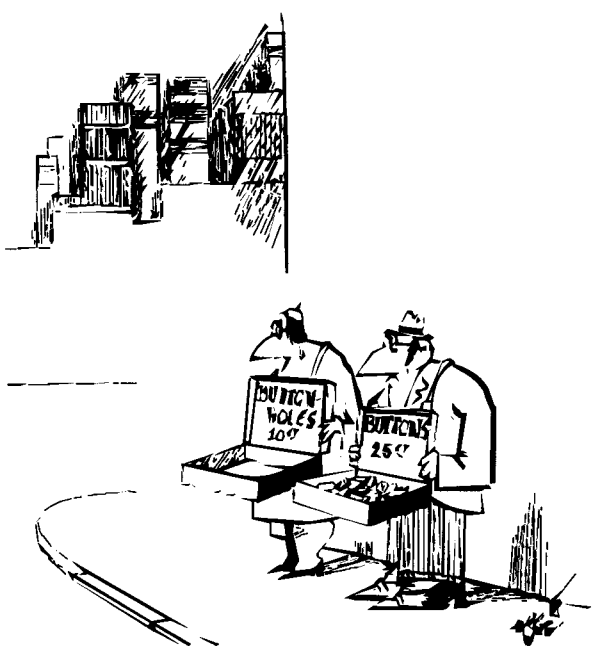
Allan E. Junker
Oakhurst, Calif.

Bravo! for the article by Steve Sailer. It's good to hear the truth. And what makes it even better is that I am a gay male in the United States of America.

The charts were great—true and funny, pointing out the traits of gays and lesbians to a "tee." But what is more true is that even though there is a strong hatred of gay men and women among the heterosexual population, there is also an inner hate between ourselves. This makes it difficult for us to accomplish the goal of equality and acceptance. So, before we try to gain acceptance with the straight majority, we need to work out the hatred between ourselves.

Thanks for making a truth be known, and being a good sport about it.

Derek G. Hubbard
Midlothian, Va.



As a fascinated foreign observer of American culture I am grateful for the article by Steve Sailer. It is in marked contrast to the larger media, who cannot seem to get the story straight. Nevertheless, it seems to me that even conservative journalists often wear blinders on two matters that occasion much amazement, and amusement, in France.

The first is the passionately enraged lesbians in NOW, allegedly the leading organization for all women. It is a commonplace among French intellectuals that America is dominated by the lesbian agenda, and there is much debate whether this "*maladie Américaine*" will infiltrate Europe. France practices nearly total tolerance in sexual matters, and indeed there is great admiration for the cultural contributions of homosexuals, but allowing one's country to be governed by a militant sexual minority is an occasion of great astonishment and mirth.

The second issue is that homosexuality is now so celebrated and glamorized in America that naïve young people seem attracted to this "liberation cause" in great numbers. Gay and lesbian groups deny, of course, that recruitment occurs.

J. P. Pieron
Oakland, Calif.

My wife shares M. Pieron's amazement that the lesbian feminists of NOW are her self-appointed but media-anointed leaders. Monsieur, America has always been an assertocracy, where anybody with enough chutzpah and cojones can con the press into believing damn near anything. As for recruitment, I wonder about the new state-sponsored counseling programs that put gay adult volunteers in touch with sexually uncertain youths. What would be the response to a parallel program in which straight men helped teenaged girls "affirm their emerging sexuality"?

Mr. Junker should not be personally insulted by public discussion of the fact that gay men tend *to be more promiscuous (which was the AIDS epidemic's main cause). Non-promiscuous gays like him actually deserve more praise for their self-restraint than non-promiscuous guys like me. Unless we're NBA superstars or forty-something Presidents, we cannot even hope to carry out sexual adventures with women on the same industrial scale that more than a few gays did with men (especially while the AIDS tragedy was gestating).* —SS

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Police State

Appalling! That's the first word that came to my mind after reading Ernest van den Haag's "How to Cut Crime" [May 30]. Unfortunately, it remains the most appropriate word even after considerable reflection on the matter. Mr. van den Haag is essentially calling for a police state in order to rectify the shortcomings of our criminal-justice system that, for the most part, have been created by our elected officials in the first place. To paraphrase him, we don't give a damn about what causes crime but come hell or high water we'll stop it even if it means further trampling on our already tarnished Constitution.

The crime problem will *never* be solved unless we learn the correct answer to the question of why we have the highest incarceration rate among all nations. Republicans and Democrats alike must realize that their ideas are tired and worn. They've been recycled a thousand times over the last hundred years and they just don't work. Now is the time for some new thinking. Come on, *NR*, let's put that great intellectual storehouse of yours to work and develop some good solutions.

Thomas Speziale
Idaho Falls, Idaho

Ernest van den Haag's "How to Cut Crime" forced me to re-examine my conservative philosophy. He argues for unlimited "frisk" authority for police, incorrectly suggesting that "probable cause" was invented by attorneys; he ignores the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable search; he criticizes the exclusionary rule as "created" by the Supreme Court, but fails to note that these rules were developed by the courts in response to abuse of police power, too often exercised in contravention of the protections guaranteed by the Fourth and Fifth Amendments. He then criticizes the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination, opining that defendants should "be urged and even enticed" to testify against themselves. Van den Haag's position is but a rationale for Gestapo tactics—a distortion of conservative values.

Pierre A. Kleff Jr.
Killeen, Tex.

"The correct answer to the question of why we have the highest incarceration rate among all nations" is: we don't. And the rate that matters—the incarceration rate as a proportion not of the general population but of criminals—is scandalously low. The "root causes of crime" are, as I indicated, human wickedness (a constant, as is crime), and, accounting for the rise of crime in the last thirty years, the decline in the risk of incarceration by 80 per cent (a variable that can be changed). How does increasing that risk for criminals amount to "trampling on our Constitution"?

Mr. Kleff accuses me of "ignoring the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable searches." I honor it, but advocate reasonable *searches. Mr. Kleff also thinks that allowing juries to interpret a defendant's refusal to testify as they wish, amounts to authoritarian oppression. It is done everywhere but in England and the United States. He also feels that opposing the exclusionary rules which prevent juries from considering evidence for guilt when obtained illegally "is but a rationale for Gestapo tactics." I don't favor violating the law in procuring evidence. But, as did Justice Cardozo and many others, I think it's silly to punish the police officer who violated the law and to exclude the evidence for guilt he procured. Letting the criminal go does not punish the police officer, but the society he tried to protect.* —EvdH

Death to the WTO

For the first time since the 1940s, we have the chance to destroy an international bureaucracy—the proposed World Trade Organization—and Jeremy Rabkin warns us off ["Trading In Our Sovereignty," June 13].

The WTO, says U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, is the trade equivalent of the IMF and UN, two of the most anti-market and anti-sovereignty bands of tax eaters. The WTO will:

—entrench anti-dumping laws, which are the bane of peaceful trade;

—lead to more retaliation and trade disputes due to its majority voting principle and cross-retaliation clauses;

—violate the principle of federalism, by which decentralized government is to be preferred to centralized government;

—promote a big-government philosophy of full employment, demand-side fiscal management, sustainable development, and redistribution;

—be the stalking horse for environmental and labor agreements.

No one who claims to love liberty can seek anything but the death of the WTO.

Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr.
President
Ludwig von Mises Institute
Auburn, Ala.

Jeremy Rabkin's endorsement of the proposed World Trade Organization on the grounds that "the changes sound more dramatic than they are" was lukewarm at best. Rather than make positive arguments for the WTO, Rabkin spent his time trying to minimize the problems.

The WTO is the creation of the same "mushy multilateralism" denounced by Peter Rodman in the same issue. Japan and the Europeans see the WTO as a way to block American unilateral trade policies based on perceived national interests. The size of the U.S. market gives Washington leverage to force open foreign markets on a reciprocal basis (a tactic Adam Smith endorsed). The WTO does not enhance this power, but undermines it by giving foreign governments the opportunity to have American actions declared "GATT illegal" under Section 301 and thus gain valuable propaganda/bargaining points.

Rabkin's main counterpoint, common in pro-WTO circles, is that the U.S. has the raw power to ignore the WTO whenever it wishes. Yet this would require an administration willing to defy international rules to which the U.S. had agreed. An administration that believes in world government, like that of Bill Clinton, will not do this. Nor could we confidently expect all future Republican administrations to do so given the general respect for the rule of law. Rather than say "no" to the WTO a hundred times, let's use our power to say "no" just once and block the WTO's creation.

William R. Hawkins
Washington, D.C.

William Hawkins worries that the Clinton Administration will bow to all WTO rulings because it "believes in world government." In fact, USTR Mickey Kantor insists that the U.S. will not accept WTO rulings against U.S. trade sanctions under Section 301. Mr. Hawkins also has an exaggerated notion of Republican "respect for the rule of law" in these matters. The Bush Administration openly defied a GATT ruling against the U.S. policy of trying to protect dolphins from Mexican fishing practices.

Llewellyn Rockwell assumes that without the WTO, the U.S. would never think of unilaterally imposing "anti-dumping" measures or special tariffs to enforce "interventionist environmental and labor" standards on other countries. Mr. Rockwell should talk to the union officials and environmental advocates who fear the WTO will constrain their current program of using U.S. tariffs to impose their favored standards on other countries. If the WTO is "destroyed," U.S. trade policy is likely to be dominated by these kinds of protectionists, not by Mr. Rockewell's fellow libertarians. —JR

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FROM THE EDITOR

Hellzapoppin'-on-Wheels

■ "Leon Panetta, the budget director, looked out of the windows. A summer thunderstorm was brewing. He had watched other Presidents go through similar turmoil as they navigated rough political shoals, their political advisors warning them off the hard political course, concerned about lasting damage.

" 'Looks like rain on the way,' said Clinton, seeing his own mood reflected in the weather. Breaking off the discussion, he retired to the private quarters to dress for that night's dinner with the prime minister of Turkey.

"The small group in the Oval Office were to remember these words when, a few hours later, steady persistent rain swept drearily over the nation's capital. Even God, said a gloomy Carville, seemed to be on the side of the bond market."

Yes, it's Bob Woodward's new book, *The Agenda*, telling the story of the Clinton Administration in reconditioned Teddy White prose complete with irrelevant details, "quotes" from people's inner reflections at the time, and a rattling good plot about a self-confessed politician who finds salvation in tax hikes.

Well, not quite. The above quote is half Woodward and half O'Sullivan. No prizes for spotting the join.

Conservatives, ourselves included, have been full of praise for *The Agenda* because it shows the Clinton White House as rudderless, disorganized, full of vicious infighting, and generally based on the less decorous moments from *Hellzapoppin'*. Take a second look.

It does, of course, show the White House to be rudderless, disorganized, etc. But do we need "inside dope" to demonstrate that? It is proved daily by the North Korean crisis, the Bosnian crisis, the Haitian crisis, and any other crisis that pops up shouting "Boo!" at Warren Christopher.

Imagine the guffaws if Mr. Woodward had depicted the White House as a tightly run ship steering prudently toward international stability. No marks to him for stating the obvious.

But what power-worship we have to endure in return for the occasional platitude! Here, for instance, Mrs. Clinton's noble character is revealed: "One prominent woman told the First Lady: 'What you don't understand about this town is that they can fight about issues all they want, but they don't really care about them. What they really care about is who they sit next to at dinner.' Hillary was shocked."

Shocked! *Shocked!* Shocked to discover that social climbing was going on in Washington. Would she look on Dan Rostenkowski with the same trusting girlish gaze ever again?

Admittedly, Mr. Woodward does not try to present Hillary's husband as a Noble Soul. The market will only bear so much. But he does portray him as a thoughtful intellectual who, thrusting aside electoral temptations, adopts a virtuous fiscal and monetary policy that subsequently leads to low interest rates, falling inflation, etc. Thus, the contemporaneous inner thoughts of Alan Greenspan: "Clinton was close to being an intellectual, at home with ideas and knowledgeable about history. Greenspan was surprised at the level of abstraction of their conversation . . . Was Clinton too thoughtful for his own good? Too thoughtful for politics?"

That inner thought surely comes under the tabloid rule of "too good to check." Clinton thoughtful? An intellectual? At home with ideas? Quote me something clever, witty, or thoughtful he's said. Epigram me. You can't. It will be a lean year for *Bartlett's* when Mr. Clinton's entry comes due.

As for falling interest rates, lower prices, a stable currency—*Mais, où sont les neiges d'antan?* Where's the beef? Show me the customers' yachts.

And, Mr. Woodward, demand your royalties in Deutschemarks.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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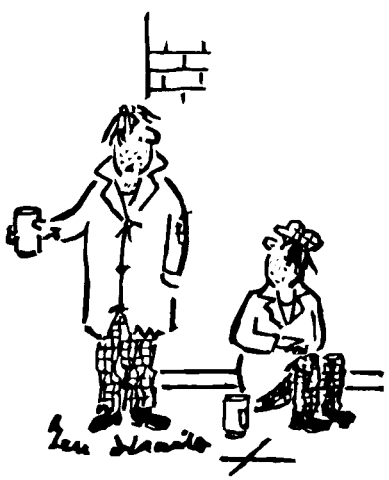
FOR THE RECORD

■ **Ollie North**'s win of GOP Senate nod in Va., election of former **Reagan** appointee **Tom Pauken** as Texas GOP chairman, and Minnesota GOP revolt against incumbent Gov. **Arne Carlson** (for pro-abortion and pro-gay-rights stance) causing media blitzkrieg about GOP "takeover" by Religious Right. Christian-bashing led by Reagan-loather **Howell Raines**, who runs *N.Y. Times* editorial page; TV commentator and *Newseeek* editor **Evan Thomas**; and *Wall Street Journal* columnist **Al Hunt**. Anti-Defamation League also issued attack on political Christians as "extremist" spreaders of "fear" and "hatred." And National Democratic Chairman **David Wilhelm** wants to make control of GOP by "radical Christian conservatives" a prime issue in November. . . . Conservative counterattack furious and effective. GOP House Whip **Newt Gingrich** on **Evans & Novak** TV show defended Christian activists as enlightened and politically practical. *Washington Times* reprinted lengthy memo by **William Kristol** debunking ADL charges and calling "fervent" (as used by media about Christians) a bigoted codeword like "aggressive" about Jews. . . . **Pat Buchanan** and **Cal Thomas** thundered out heavy broadsides. Buchanan quoted Christian Coalition's **Ralph Reed** saying ADL document full of "errors, half-truths, and outright lies" about group's founder, **Pat Robertson**. . . . **William Murchison** in *Wall Street Journal* pilloried attempts to distort Texas GOP convention, saying it was not religious as much as "an authentic, unstaged uprising of the people." . . . Signs that counterattack may be working: halfway fair CNN report by **Deborah Potter** gave the articulate Reed chance to make his case. And *Washington Post* story by **Dan Baltz** was straight-up reporting that gave Christian activists full hearing. Meanwhile, Congress in overwhelming vote warned federal EEOC to rewrite guidelines that chilled religious expression in workplace. . . . Some GOP insiders delighted at anti-Christian tack, noting that similar Dem tactics in '93 Virginia Gov's race angered voters and helped GOP ticket. Public concern over morality decline and **Clinton** appointees like Surgeon General **Joycelyn Elders** (who wants lesbians in the Girl Scouts) means media are doing GOP favor by pointing to '92 Houston convention, which warned of threats to family religious values. . . . Survey at Texas GOP convention showed overwhelming choice for President was *Book of Virtues*' **William Bennett**. . . . Sen. **John Warner** (R., Va.) not getting the message. After appearance with **Marshall Coleman**, running as independent against North, Warner's break with state party all but complete.

■ Other scenes from D.C.'s surrealistic summer: A pariah only a few months ago, accused sexual harasser Sen. **Bob Packwood** (R., Ore.) was welcomed to White House for health-care chat by accused sexual harasser Bill Clinton. Then **Jimmy Carter** showed up in North Korea grinning at gangster-statesman **Kim Il Sung**. Followed by U.S. Navy dunning White House aides for taking towels from aircraft carrier, and Bill switching to longer jogging shorts to hide what media call "pasty white thighs." . . . Dems sinking further in Whitewater morass. For restricting July congressional probe, they were accused of "partisan coverup" by *N.Y. Times* editorial (Raines's day off?). . . . But nightly news at ABC, NBC, and CBS, which couldn't do enough on Watergate and Iran–Contra, ran no segment about Senate's party-line vote to thwart full probe. . . . House postal scandal, which led to **Rostenkowski** indictment, also subject of cover-up charges. Rep. **Jennifer Dunn** (R., Wash.) is pressing for public probe, citing secret transcripts that show Dems pressured Hill police not to ask questions.



"Begging off tourists would be easier with a single currency."

■ Worries grow about North Africa as new trouble spot. State Dept. hopes to limit Iran's influence by making Algerian government negotiate with fanatical Muslims. But old North Africa hands concerned that U.S. heavy-handedness could weaken neighboring Morocco, Tunisia, and increasingly volatile Egypt. Egyptian security recently arrested plotters close to assassinating President **Hosni Mubarak**. Latest assassination victim in Algeria is human-rights leader **Yousef Fathallah**. . . . *Jane's Fighting Ships* says Russia sold North Korea forty submarines adaptable for missile launchers. . . . Two top Chinese generals warned publicly about army's unreliability, citing corruption from business activity. Peking's Supreme Court president, **Ren Jianxin**, sees rural unrest like that prior to Communist takeover in 1940s. But Kentucky Fried Chicken's **John Cranor** is optimistic. He says sales up twenty times over U.S. average and China may be KFC's biggest market by 2110. . . . Former Senate Majority Leader **Howard Baker** in D.C. speech urged aid to Russia but admitted his own bank is concentrating on Dunkin Donuts.

■ The Saudi soccer team vigorously denies each of its members received $100,000 and a Mercedes Benz for qualifying for World Cup matches. . . . Clinton Supreme Court nominee **Stephen G. Breyer** is mum about Boston courthouse whose construction he helped supervise. GAO investigators have located 63 private bathrooms, 37 libraries, 33 private kitchens, a $450,000 boat dock, and some $750,000 in art work.

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THE WEEK

■ The Clinton welfare-reform plan would require people to go to work after a limited time on the public dole. Many on the Right favor the same idea, but we call it term limits.

■ This version of the Latin laudation to President Clinton at Oxford University just in from the British satirical magazine *Private Eye*: "Wilhelmus Jeffersonius Airplanus Clintonensis, salutamus venerabilis Universitatis Oxoniensis. Quondam Rhodus scholasticus et marijuana non-inhaliensis, et ex Bello Vietnamensis non conscriptione excusatus. Subsequentis gubernator respublica Arkansensis et perpetrator criminalis sleazissimus in nomine 'Aqua Blanca' scandalus, cum tua uxore Hillarius Roddama Clintesterone. Etiam legoverus multitudinus cum multae bimbones, Gennifa Flores, Paula Jones, et cetera, et cetera. Satyriasis abnormalis in modo Presidentius Kennedensis. Tua fama extendit per omne mundo pro joggendo, juvando ad saxophonum, et non much else. Esperamus quid pro quo multi richi Americani donabunt muchos dollares ad Universitatem Oxoniensis.

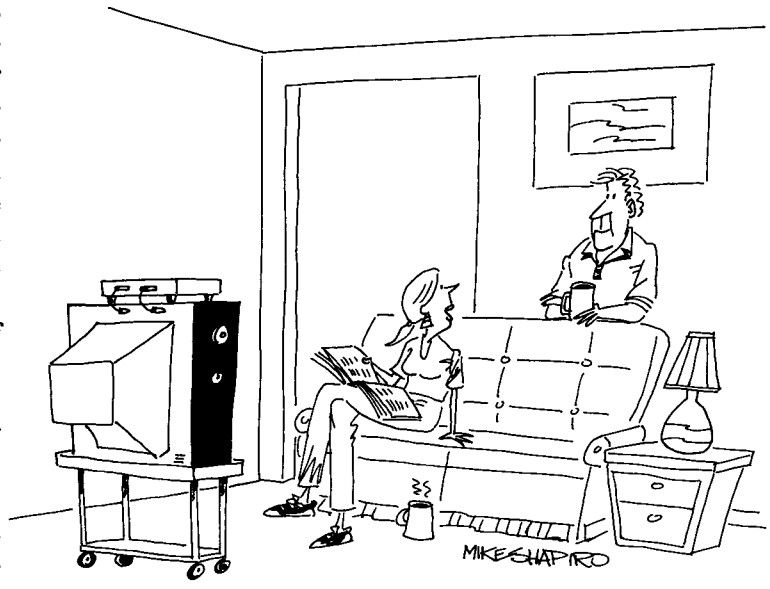
"**Omnes:** Vivat, vivat Clintstone zaba-daba-doo."

■ Earlier this month Secretary of the Army Togo West sent a memorandum to the defense secretary recommending that thousands of combat positions be opened to women—for instance, in air-defense artillery, field artillery, special-operations aircraft, air cavalry, and units equipped with the multiple-launch rocket system. The Army chief of staff, General Gordon Sullivan, reportedly hit the ceiling when he learned of Mr. West's recommendations, and the memo was quickly withdrawn. Senior Army officers maintain that women cannot meet the physical requirements demanded by direct combat positions, and that unit cohesion and morale would suffer if the military's most lethal units were sexually integrated. Mr. West's rationale relies exclusively on the need "to enhance the career opportunities" for women. But, as Elaine Donnelly, president of the Center for Military Readiness, notes: "The last time Pentagon civilians overruled the best advice of field commanders for political reasons, 18 soldiers lost their lives in Mogadishu." It will be a pyrrhic victory for feminism if, next time, the body bags contain female corpses.

■ Mind you, in 1975, a certain Miss Hillary Rodham visited a Marine Corps recruiting center in Fayetteville, Arkansas, and asked about enlisting. The Marine recruiter, still on the lookout for a few good men, fobbed her off in the most sexist fashion. Or so, at least, runs Mrs. Clinton's recent tale. A former colleague at the University of Arkansas (where Miss Rodham was then teaching) had a different explanation: feminist faculty members occasionally took a run at "testing" whether career opportunities claimed to be open to women really were. As for the Marines, they missed out on a potentially first-class drill sergeant.

■ The latest bit of Washingtonese relating to Clinton health-care reform is the word "trigger." If you ask us, Trigger should be the name of a horse, not a turkey.

■ Voting for the European Parliament produced contradictory results, but a few pleasant surprises. While the Socialists still constitute the largest bloc in the Parliament, conservative parties gained ground. Silvio Berlusconi's new Center–Right government actually bettered its general-election performance, and Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats did better than expected (though the weakening of his Free Democrat coalition partners will complicate things for him in the elections this October). The exception to the trend was Britain, where the anemic Major government is paying the price for its Bush-like retreat from conservative principles. Only when Mr. Major revived a more skeptical Thatcher-like line on European integration did he pull the Tories back from an outright catastrophe. The European Union is, among other things, a device for transfer-



"What a day! Three Elvis and two David Gergen sightings."

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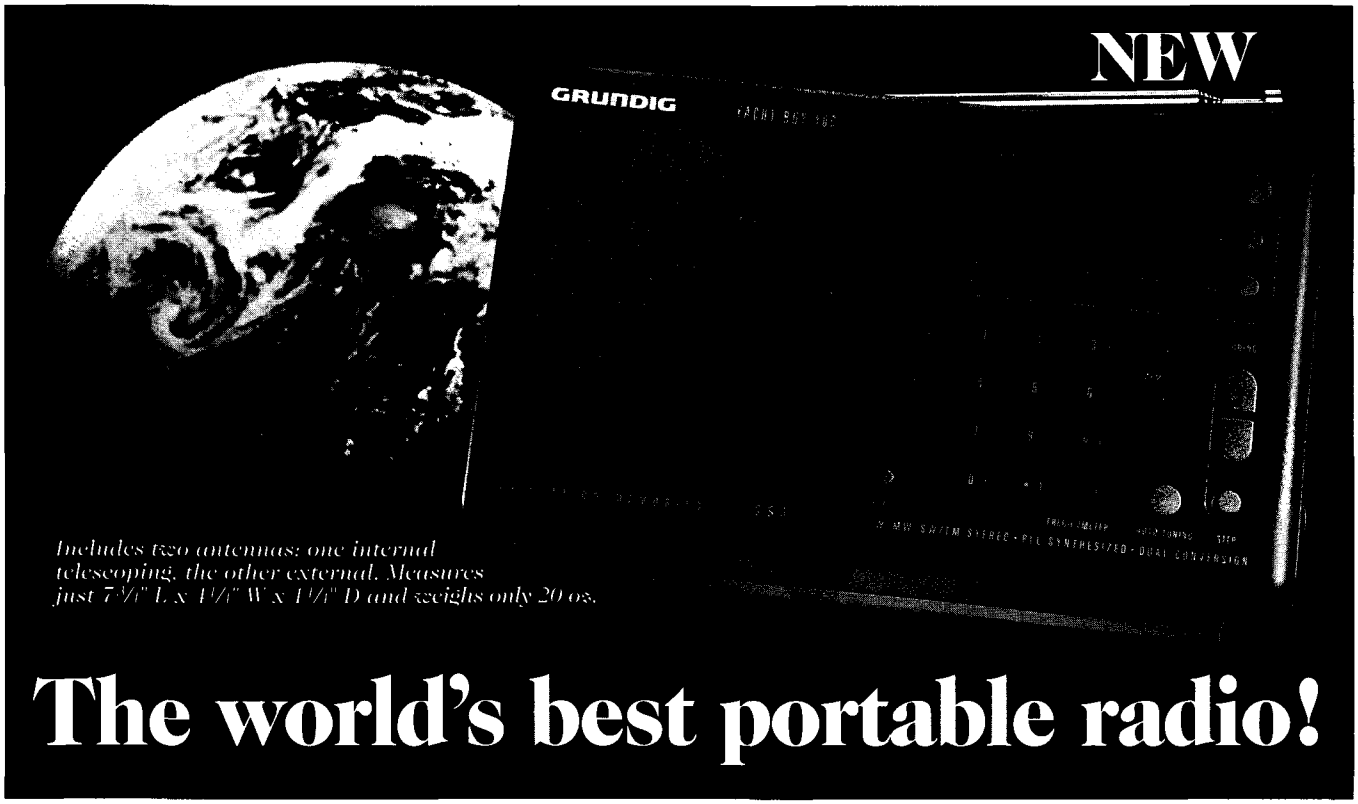

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ring political decisions from democratically accountable national parliaments to remote supranational institutions that are biased toward socialism into the bargain. But the signs are that voters in Europe, as in the U.S., feel increasingly rebellious toward political elites which think that, like Father, they know best.

■ The White House—at the instigation of Vice President and Environment Czar Al Gore—recently came up with a plan to save the Northwestern salmon. It ordered the Marine Fisheries Service and the Corps of Engineers to divert water from the Bonneville Power Administration's electrical turbines on the Columbia and Snake Rivers so as to increase the number of young salmon making it downstream to the ocean. The water diversion, which would cost $30 million a year in lost electricity production, was supposed to allow an extra 120,000 freshwater-hatched salmon (17 per cent more than now) to pass the dams. But on past experience, as the National Wilderness Institute pointed out, one would expect only 5 per cent of these, or 6,000, actually to reach the ocean. Once in the ocean the attrition rate is enormous; only 0.25 to 1.0 per cent would actually make it up the rivers again. Thus, the $30-million project would result in only 15 to 60 additional salmon—meaning that each surviving salmon would cost $500,000 to $2 million. The Institute also predicted that the plan would produce nitrogen supersaturation of the river and actually *reduce* the total salmon population. That prediction was borne out, and so the project was scuttled before too much damage was done. No thanks to Captain Planet.

■ With the re-trial of the Menendez brothers pending, it appears a rift has developed between them. Probably creative differences.

■ Good news has been in short supply lately for America's newest oppressed minority: smokers. *NR* senior editor Peter Brimelow gives them a reason to celebrate in the latest *Forbes*. He reports that while smoking increases the risk of lung cancer and heart disease, it also appears to decrease the risk of Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease, osteoarthritis, and other ailments. Those on the cutting edge of physical fitness may soon have to add a few puffs on a cigarette to their daily regimen—along with going jogging, eating tofu, and, of course, drinking one glass of red wine.

■ WordPerfect 6.0 comes with a built-in style-checker, called Grammatik, that checks spelling, polishes syntax, and brushes up grammar. And imposes PC. If you run the program over a piece containing the word "girl," Grammatik will flash: "Try to avoid using *girl* or *girlish* to refer to adult women." "Colored" elicits "*Colored* is considered offensive. Use *African-American* or *Black*." Thinking of using "stewardess" or "chairman"? Think again: "Try using a term that is not gender specific." Alas for Grammatik's producers, the market will impose unsustainable costs on them as PC fashion changes. How will their program take account of "people of color," or "girly girl lesbians"? Meanwhile, non-PC word processors can impose a market pressure of their own by switching to Windows.

■ Bill Clinton may want to get to the bottom of which White House aides stole bathrobes and towels from the aircraft carrier *George Washington*. If Ross Perot were President, he'd also want to find out who stole the strawberries.

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W. H. VON DREELE

Immigration Battle Lines

AS THE political debate over immigration hots up—see our cover story on immigration and the GOP—immigration advocates have just executed a major strategic retreat. Under a smokescreen of the usual abuse of immigration critics, the June 20 *BusinessWeek* has conceded that there are indeed major problems with post-1965 immigrants' welfare-participation rates and skill levels. And it attempts to establish a new defensive line: These problems are concentrated among refugees and illegal immigrants; legal immigrants are still okay.

This is a highly significant development. *BusinessWeek* and its immigration writer Michael J. Mandel have been relentless drum-beaters for immigration. Mr. Mandel's July 13, 1992, cover story, "The Immigrants: How They're Helping the U.S. Economy," stands as a museum piece of pro-immigration clichés. Of course, the problems Mr. Mandel has discovered now were also perfectly obvious then. But at that time he glossed over them, saying that overall immigrant welfare participation was "only"

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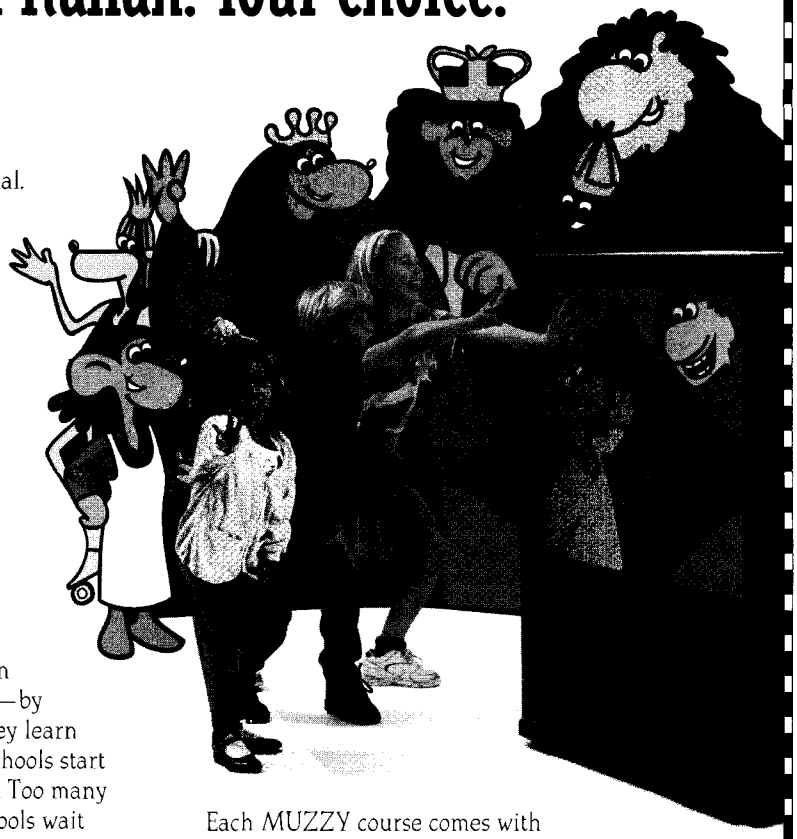

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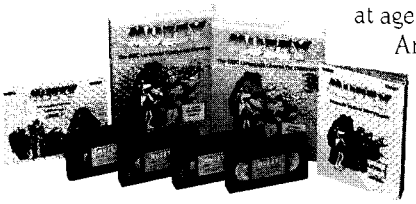

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about 10 per cent higher than among the native-born. Evidence that the more recent immigrants were sharply more welfare-prone was simply suppressed.

Now, however, since refugees and illegal immigrants constitute up to a third of the total influx every year, even Mr. Mandel has been forced into a decisive, if tacit, admission: that the chaotic system of laws, regulations, and enforcement practices laughingly known as U.S. immigration "policy" is broke. And must be fixed.

It is quite true that, because refugees are immediately eligible for welfare, they tend to stay on it. This produces startlingly high welfare-participation rates even among groups widely celebrated as successful, entrepreneurial, potentially Republican voters, etc., such as Cubans (16.0 per cent) and ex-Soviets (16.3 per cent). It is also probably the case that illegal immigrants are less skilled on average, and thus more likely to become economic casualties. They are obviously getting welfare quickly too, if only through their American-born children, citizens by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment.

But it is not true that, if you subtract refugees and illegals, immigrants present no problems. Indeed, *BusinessWeek*'s own statistics show that "nonrefugee immigrants" have an average welfare-participation rate of 7.8 per cent, compared to a native-born rate of 7.4 per cent. (And the rate among native-born American whites is dramatically lower, perhaps only 5 per cent.)

BusinessWeek's statistics also show that welfare participation rates vary enormously between different national groups. For example, among immigrants from the Dominican Republic, welfare participation reaches an astonishing 27.9 per cent; among Haitians, it is 9.1 per cent. Generally speaking, however, immigrants from the Third World do worse in the U.S. than immigrants from the First World. But current immigration policy is perversely skewed—away from national groups that do well; toward national groups that do badly.

Still more important, immigration advocates are constructing their new defenses on top of an unexploded bomb. The Census Bureau does not factor out refugees and illegals. To get an estimate, *BusinessWeek* just treated as refugees and illegals all those who came from the countries where *most* refugees and illegals originate. Maybe this is reasonable in the case of Cambodians (welfare participation: 48.8 per cent). But it is emphatically unreasonable in the case of Mexicans. Many illegal immigrants *are* Mexicans, but so are many legal immigrants—3.4 million from 1971 to 1992, nearly a quarter of the 14.6-million total influx. On average, Mexican welfare participation is high (11.3 per cent) and skill levels are low. If the advocates treat all Mexicans as illegals, therefore, they are making legal immigrants look better by the simple expedient of excluding a high proportion of those who look worse.

Besides which, the immigration advocates' new fort is facing the wrong way. The real question about immigration is not: Does it cost the American taxpayer money? It is: Does America absolutely, positively *need* immigration? And even the arch-enthusiast for immigration, Professor Julian Simon, has conceded that immigration is not necessary for economic growth.

WHICH BRINGS us to immigrants and crime (see "Letters," page 2). The Manhattan Institute's John Miller insists on wagging his face in our fist, even when we are doing our best, in the interests of intra-conservative harmony, to keep it unclenched.

Mr. Miller concedes the shocking and little-reported fact that about 26 per cent of federal-prison inmates are foreign-born, far out of line with their representation (9 per cent) in the U.S. population. But, because many are in for drug offenses, he repeats his claim that they are just "international drug traffickers" (whatever *those* are), not really immigrants at all. In contrast, *NR* pointed out that the high proportion of foreign-born drug offenders obviously reflects another little-reported fact: that immigrant mafias are playing an increasing role in the drug trade within the U.S., as well as in all other forms of organized crime.

Without sticking a thumb in Mr. Miller's eye, let's add two further comments to finish off his claim completely: 1) a high proportion of *all* federal-prison inmates, native-born as well as immigrants, are drug offenders—almost 40 per cent in 1989. Are the American jailbirds all "international drug traffickers" too? 2) Less than 5 per cent of federal indictments are in drug-related cases brought by the U.S. Customs Service, i.e., what might be termed smuggling offenses (FBI Uniform Crime Statistics, 1992). Even if all these involved foreign "international drug traffickers," it's still nowhere near enough to account for the disproportionate foreign-born population in federal prisons.

Nice try, Mr. Miller. But no joint.

Which brings us to the rather lower proportions of foreign-born inmates that Mr. Miller reports in some state prisons. He perhaps does not realize that many immigrant offenders are automatically passed up to the federal level for possible deportation. This systematically reduces their proportion in state prisons and, of course, increases their proportion in federal prisons.

More seriously, statistics on the national origin of state-prison inmates are fragmentary and unreliable in the extreme. For example, Mr. Miller's original *Wall Street Journal* article reported that 10.4 per cent of California state-prison inmates are aliens;

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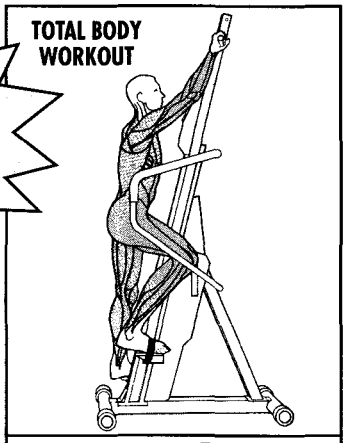

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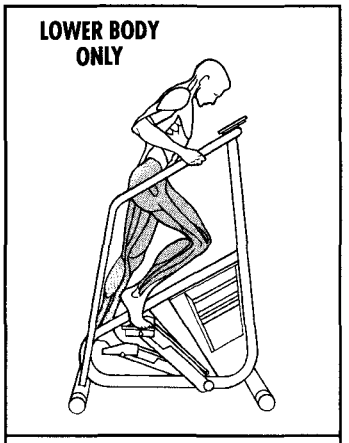

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3 Total-body muscular workout	YES Conditions arms, chest, shoulders, upper back, lower back, stomach, thighs, hamstrings, buttocks, shins, calves and ankles.	NO Only works lower body: lower back, buttocks, thighs, hamstrings, calves, shins and ankles.
4 Aerobic cardiovascular conditioning	YES Simultaneous *total-body* workout is the most effective and efficient way to achieve aerobic cardiovascular benefits. You get a better workout in less time!	YES **BUT,** since you only work lower body, achieving comparable aerobic cardiovascular benefits takes much longer.
5 Variable two-way resistance	YES Provides up-and-down resistance for more intense workout. With foot straps, one leg *pulls* up as the other leg *pushes* down. Adjusts to your personal resistance with a turn of a dial.	NO Resistance, though variable, only works one leg at a time—only as each leg pushes down—resulting in a less effective workout.
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the California State Department of Corrections tells us the figure is over 20 per cent.

And these are self-identifications. If the prisoner is an illegal immigrant and chooses to lie, California has no effective way of finding out. Even so, some 15 per cent of California state-prison inmates are known to be illegal immigrants—again, far out of line with their proportion of California's population, variously estimated at anything from 3.5 per cent to 7 per cent.

We have no doubt that Mr. Miller agrees with us on this at least: that Americans ought to be able to find out whether or not immigrants contribute disproportionately to crime. But currently, the statistics are just not being kept. Nor has there been any serious academic study of the issue, greatly to the disgrace (not for the first time) of the U.S. professoriate. The reason for this is simple and ignominious: fear of being abused for "immigrant-bashing" if the facts contradict one or another of the innumerable pro-immigration romantic myths.

We urge Mr. Miller, as an ally in so many causes, to consider the extent to which he is contributing to this fear—and to these myths.

Lies, Damned Lies, And Welfare Reform

IN 1992, candidate Clinton boldly promised to "end welfare." Last week, President Clinton unveiled legislation to bring about the "end." Predictably, the plan fell a bit short.

He claims his reform will impose time limits on welfare; allegedly, individuals will receive cash aid for no more than two years. The claim is false. There will be no termination of cash benefits, whether the recipient has been on welfare for two years or twenty years. President Clinton's plan does require *some* who have received AFDC benefits for over two years to participate in a government make-work program resembling Jimmy Carter's ill-fated CETA. Individuals placed in this program will receive their welfare benefits in the guise of wages for "work" performed. They may remain in the work program indefinitely, and will continue to draw funds from the welfare system.

But if Mr. Clinton does not actually impose a time limit on welfare, at least he makes those on the dole for over two years work in exchange for future benefits—right? Wrong. Nearly half of the 4.9 million AFDC families have been on welfare continuously for over two years. At no time in the foreseeable future does Mr. Clinton propose to require work from more than a fraction of AFDC parents. The biggest loophole in his bill is that persons born before 1972 are exempt from work requirements. This pre-1972 population accounts for some 80 per cent of current parents on AFDC. But at least Mr. Clinton makes the younger mothers, born after 1972, work—right? Nope. Five years from now, only about one-third of the younger mothers who have received welfare for over two years will actually be required to work. Though the pace is glacial at least Mr. Clinton is moving toward work—right? Wrong again. Through the end of this century Mr. Clinton's law actually *cuts* the number of recipients required to work relative to existing law.

The bottom line: By the last year of this century, Mr. Clinton's reform will impose work requirements on only 6 per cent of all AFDC adults. This group will be required to work only 15 hours per week. Once food and medical benefits in the average state are added in, total compensation will amount to about $15 for each hour "worked."

Bad as Mr. Clinton's plan is on work it is worse on spending. Federal, state, and local spending on the welfare system last year amounted to $325 billion. Without any change in law, spending would rise to over $500 billion in 1998. In that year, the U.S. would be spending $2 on welfare for every $1 on national defense, and nearly $5,000 for each taxpaying U.S. household.

Mr. Clinton's response to this spending explosion is, of course, to spend more. And despite his protestations that he will pay for proposed spending increases through cuts in other programs, his plan is not deficit neutral. He intends to exploit a technicality in federal budget law which requires that the fiscal impact of proposed legislation be estimated for only five years into the future. In the past, a liberal Congress has invisibly hiked spending by creating entitlements that would come into effect six or seven years in the future. Taking a leaf from this book, President Clinton calls for tens of billions in new welfare entitlements that are "off budget" because they come into effect beyond the year 2000.

Finally, Mr. Clinton's plan ignores the root of the welfare crisis: exploding rates of illegitimacy. On this score, the President deserves some credit for

An Olfactory Decision

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rhetoric. He has truthfully told the voters that illegitimacy is a principal cause of crime; that welfare promotes illegitimacy; and that unless something dramatic is done, soon half of all American children will be born out of wedlock. After this vigorous New Democrat windup, however, he refuses to pitch the ball. Except for hypocritical chatter about encouraging teen abstinence (while HHS Secretary Donna Shalala is seeking to abolish the only federal program that counsels it), the plan draws a big zero on combatting family disintegration. But the foundation of real welfare reform must be to get the government out of the business of subsidizing illegitimacy. Without that, all other reforms are meaningless.

Mr. Clinton and other liberals understand that the public is utterly fed up with welfare. Consequently, periodic sham reform has become crucial to propping up the moribund system. Readers may remember that Congress "ended welfare" back in 1988. But with more than a million children born out of wedlock each year, the situation is now worse than in 1988. Our society cannot afford yet another welfare-reform fraud. But a fraud is exactly what President Clinton's plan is.

Devaluing America

HARDLY a day goes by without some Clinton Administration economic official declaring allegiance to a sound and stable dollar. Treasury Undersecretary Lawrence Summers recently told a reporter that "no country can devalue its way to prosperity." Only a few days later his boss, Lloyd Bentsen, assured a conference of investors there was "absolutely no link" between the Treasury's management of the dollar and trade disagreements with Japan.

Practically no one in world financial markets believes this. Since early this year the dollar has fallen about 10 per cent when measured against traditionally hard currencies such as the German Mark, Swiss franc, and Japanese yen. Nor could a much-publicized but ineffectual "dollar defense" action, coordinated with over twenty foreign central banks (the Treasury wasted 1.4 billion U.S. taxpayer dollars), stop the downward slide. Nor have four short-term interest-rate increases, including a discount hike, stopped the slippage.

As well as losing ground against foreign currencies, the greenback has depreciated at home too. Broad commodity indexes have increased about 10 per cent this year, following a similar rise in 1993. The price of crude oil has surged to $20 per barrel, without any production cuts from Arab producers, and gold is once again pushing $400 per ounce. When the dollar declines both internationally and domestically, it is a sure sign of higher future inflation. Consistent with this, as the U.S. consumes nearly twice what it produces, the merchandise trade deficit is on track to reach $145 billion this year, its highest level since 1987.

Apologists for the weak Clinton dollar are blaming the threat of hostilities with North Korea. But there was a time—the Gulf War, for example—when world tensions generated a stronger dollar as the ultimate haven of safety. Not any more. More likely, today's dollar slide is related to new anxieties about Federal Reserve independence, since we have learned that Chairman Greenspan is a Clinton team player—indeed one of the "ghostwriters" of Clintonomics, according to Bob Woodward.

Moreover, while real interest rates are low and taxes are rising in the U.S., foreign real rates remain higher amidst talk of growth-stimulating tax cuts in Europe and Japan. World capital always flows to those areas where prospective after-tax, inflation-adjusted investment returns are highest, and country risk lowest. So persistent dollar selling is a vote against current U.S. policies, clear and simple. And the spectacle of Jimmy Carter negotiating with North Korea is a stark reminder of the last time U.S. foreign policy ran completely amok.

Gullible's Travels

THE Clinton Administration has only itself to blame for the fiasco of Jimmy Carter's "mediation" in Pyongyang. Just days before, when the Administration seemed fed up with North Korea and determined on economic sanctions, things appeared to be falling into line. Russia let it be known it no longer considered itself bound to come to North Korea's defense under the Soviet–North Korean Friendship Treaty, and Chinese media in Hong Kong took a sterner line with Pyongyang. But instead of putting an end to Kim Il Sung's slippery evasions, the Administration came up with a feeble plan for "gradually escalating" economic sanctions, giving Kim at each stage an opportunity to "cooperate."

Of course, what this did was guarantee Kim new opportunities to obfuscate. Having learned very well the lesson taught by his North Vietnamese brothers—that the way to win is to manipulate the hopes and fears of Western public opinion—Kim has come up with a battery of phony diplomatic ploys. First, Carnegie Endowment scholar Selig Harrison came out of Pyongyang with a vague promise of "freezing" the North Korean nuclear program (which the Administration used to claim it had achieved all along) in exchange for diplomatic concessions. Then came Jimmy Carter's grand bargain with Kim Il Sung to let international inspectors back in again, in ex-

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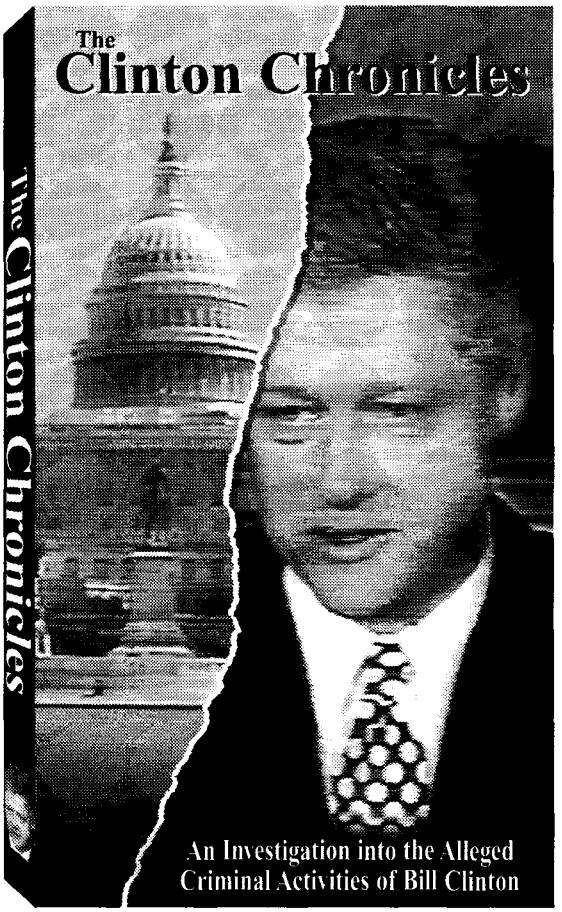
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The Setup:	In 1985 Governor Bill Clinton established the "Arkansas Development Finance Authority" (ADFA), an agency designed to create jobs and assist churches, schools, small businesses and education.
Key Player:	The Rose Law Firm and Web Hubbell helped draft the ADFA legislation.
Coincidence:	"Someone" decided that the Rose Law Firm would handle all ADFA loan applications and bond structuring. A million dollar loan netted Rose Law Firm $50,000.
More Players:	Senior partners at Rose Law Firm were: Web Hubblell, Hillary Clinton and Vince Foster.
Fact:	ADFA"s first loan ($2.85 million) went to the Park-O-Meter company. Owner: Web Hubbell's brother-in-law, Seth Ward, Jr. Secretary/Treasure: Web Hubbell
Scam:	The Rose Law Firm prepared the loan application for the $2.85 million loan. Guess who did the audit and evaluation of the application?—Web Hubbell and the Rose Law Firm. Sounds fishy boys. Perhaps a slight conflict of interest?
The Sting:	Governor Clinton gave State authorization, signing off the $2.85million loan. The Circle of Power was complete.
Scam:	Document and payment history of the Park-O-Meter loan were withheld from the public.
More Scam:	The first five ADFA loans went to FOB's (friends of Bill). As with the Park-O-Meter loan, all ADFA loans show no record of payment or loan status.
Observation:	Slick way to fund your campaigns, Bill!

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- $100 million in illegal drug traffic passed through Mena, Arkansas, each month. An ex-ADFA official alleges that much of that drug money was laundered through ADFA. *The Chronicles* exposes the connection and reveals which FOB ran the operation.
- Long-time Clinton friend and ADFA bond dealer Dan Lasater went to jail with Roger Clinton on drug charges. Governor Bill Clinton granted Lasater a full and unconditional pardon. *The Chronicles* tells you "why," but doesn't tell you "how" a governor can pardon a federal criminal.
- Over a 10 year period, private investigator Jerry Parks amassed a file on Bill Clinton, documenting his drug usage, sexcapades and secret meetings. On September 26, 1993, assassins brutally murdered Jerry. Shortly before his death, someone broke into his home and stole the Clinton files. The Chronicles interviews those who were there!

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change for a North–South Korean Summit or other high-level talks and a dropping of sanctions.

Mr. Carter's performance was egregious even by his usual standards of gullibility. He thrust himself forward as a mediator because he thought the Clinton Administration too tough. He claimed to Kim Il Sung—wrongly—that President Clinton had already halted the sanctions effort. He declared himself absolutely satisfied of Kim's sincerity, passionate interest in nuclear disarmament, and eagerness for better relations with everybody.

The new "peace plans" are deceptive and meaningless, and the Administration knows it. Kim is selling the same damaged goods over and over again. The Administration's strategy, such as it was, is now derailed.

Before the Carter mission brought "peace for our time," Washington was abuzz with talk of U.S. mili-

RIGHT DATA

Accounting for Crime

THE crime bill currently making its way through Congress is full of programs that will have little impact on criminal activity. Its most expensive item—$8 billion over five years—will fund cultural, educational, and recreational programs for disadvantaged youth, including that famous midnight basketball league. If social spending were the answer there would be no crime problem.

Indeed, the same can be said of criminal-justice spending, which last year absorbed 1.57 per cent of GDP, or more than three times its share of GDP as of 1950. The relative ineffectiveness of this public-sector outlay has forced businesses and individuals to spend an additional $52 billion each year on security. Private security guards—1.5 million in 1990 —outnumber police officers by nearly three to one.

The reason the results of public anti-crime policy have been so dismal is that officials have forgotten the relationship between the crime rate and the cost of crime to the criminal.

"Expected time in prison" reflects the average prison sentence for serious offenses, adjusted for the probability that offenders are actually arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and sent to prison. The typical sentence for burglary, for example, is 13 months. But because only 1.2 per cent of burglaries actually result in an arrest and incarceration, the expected punishment from a burglar's perspective is only 4.8 days in jail.

By the same sort of calculation the expected punishment for murder is only 1.8 years. A rapist can expect 60 days. The average "price" for stealing a car is only 1.5 days in jail.

The inverse relationship between expected punishment and the crime rate has been demonstrated empirically. Between 1950 and 1974 the expected punishment for all serious crimes fell from 24 days to 5.5 days. The crime rate rose by 300 per cent over the same period. During the 1980s Congress created mandatory minimum sentences for certain violent crimes and drug offenses, urging the states to do likewise. As the expected time in prison rose, the crime rate actually declined.

How to increase the price of crime? The Senate version of the crime bill contains funding for an additional 100,000 police officers. More cops will indeed mean a higher arrest rate, assuming Washington allows the new recruits to make arrests. But more arrests will merely clog an already overburdened penal system—and produce no rise in expected punishment—unless funds are also made available for courts, a point totally ignored in the current legislation.

Keeping career criminals off the street is arguably to the key to fighting crime. Liberals complain that a "Three strikes and you're out" policy would be too expensive. A little cost–benefit analysis may be in order. The Rand Corporation reports that the average professional criminal commits between 187 and 287 crimes a *year*, at a cost to society of $2,300 per crime—more than $400,000 per year. By comparison, keeping one of these fellows behind bars for a year costs taxpayers a mere $25,000. Prison is a bargain for the good guys. —Ed Rubenstein

Catching Criminals or Taxpayers?

	Serious Crimes Per 100 Population	Expected Days In Prison	Criminal-Justice Expenditures $ Billion	Criminal-Justice Expenditures % of GDP
1950	1.2	24.0	$ 1.415	0.49%
1954	1.4	22.5	2.054	0.55
1965	2.4	12.1	4.573	0.65
1975	4.9	5.5	14.954	0.94
1980	6.0	6.1	45.607	1.05
1989	5.7	8.5	60.980	1.24
1991	5.9	8.0	74.000	1.34
1993	NA	NA	100.000	1.57

Source: National Center For Policy Analysis, Dept. of Justice.

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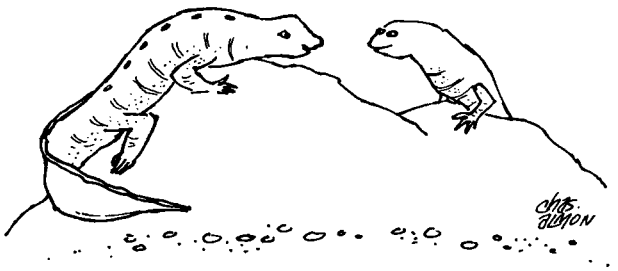

"I hear there is a newt in the House."

tary action. Senator John McCain, Brent Scowcroft, *Wall Street Journal* editor Karen Elliott House, and even Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan were suggesting that the U.S. launch a preventive airstrike to cripple North Korea's nuclear facilities. When the vacuity of the Carter mission becomes clearer to all, the question may resurface.

The issue is well joined. Pat Buchanan, from the Right, warns that a new Korean war would be devastating, with Seoul in easy range of the North's ten thousand guns and rocket launchers. To deal with a nuclear North Korea, he recommends that we encourage South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan to go nuclear themselves if China and Russia don't step in to solve the problem.

His arguments for military caution deserve respect. The risks and costs of initiating military action are considerable, and South Korea's vulnerability is heightened by the Administration's unconscionable laxity in failing to reinforce the U.S. military presence there. Nevertheless, Mr. Buchanan seems much too sanguine about the nightmare that living with a nuclear Kim Il Sung would be. Kim's blackmail would only escalate, the appeasement reflex in the West only become more powerful. The breakdown of international restraints on nuclear proliferation would, sooner rather than later, benefit enemies ike Iran, Iraq, and Libya and make the next century an era of great perils for the United States and its allies in East Asia and the Middle East. And Mr. Buchanan's solutions are problems in themselves. Is is really in the United States' interest to have a nuclear-armed Japan?

What to do now? The Administration should declare forthrightly that Kim Il Sung's record of duplicity is now complete: no new "testing periods" or diplomatic probes are required; it is time for a full-scale economic blockade of North Korea unless it complies immediately with a stringent inspection that results in the removal of all its weapons-grade plutonium. In parallel, the U.S. should seriously consider military options—both on their merits and also as a way to help galvanize international support for economic sanctions. The prospect of unilateral American military action will do wonders for our diplomatic efforts to secure cooperation on the non-military measures. The U.S. should also accelerate its reinforcement of South Korea.

Finally—as a longer-term response to a proliferation danger for which we are clearly ill-prepared—the U.S. should launch a crash program to develop and deploy defenses against strategic and tactical ballistic missiles. If it fails to do so, the Administration's negligence will be paid for, in some future crisis, in American lives.

The Simpson Case

FOR THOSE who have just come back from Bhutan, the O. J. Simpson story combined pity and terror, fascination and revulsion. Its appeal as a tale required zero explanation. The news media, unable to leave it at that, will bring on the professional explainers, who will sift the story for its relevance to: Athletes (and the depraved culture of fandom); Poverty in America (and the impossibility of truly escaping from it); Justice in America (different for celebrities); Blacks and Celebrity (and how the latter, nevertheless, cannot help the former); Black Men and White Women (unsafe at any speed); Battered Women (and how we ignore their plight); Battered Women and Sports (their plight gets worse during the Super Bowl).

These generalizations will be buttressed by statistics, most of them false. Christina Hoff Sommers's *Who Stole Feminism?*, excerpted by *NR* last issue, debunks the Super-Bowl-fan-as-wife-beater myth, and supplies correct figures on battery generally: 3 to 4 per cent of wives are victims of it (feminists' guesstimates float as high as 33 per cent); husbands are as likely to be beaten as wives; less than 1 per cent of women are victims of severe violence, and the number is declining. But even if the pundits using the Simpson case to push their pet theses made their arguments with integrity, they would still somehow be beside the point. Long before pro football, or racism in America, or America itself, jealous lovers were killing each other. The grotesque flight down the freeway was straight out of a Childe ballad. Because we are human, the deed strikes a chord in us, and because we are human, it appalls us. If O. J. Simpson is found guilty, he should suffer the fate the monstrous crime deserves.

Shelby Cullom Davis, R I P

AS A scholar, diplomat, business executive, and philanthropist, Shelby Cullom Davis made immeasurable contributions to the growth and success of the conservative movement.

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John Stuart Mill said that one person with a belief is equal to the force of 99 who have only interests. Perhaps this explained Shelby's quiet power.

He was chairman of Shelby Cullom Davis Inc. of New York City, the oldest and largest investment firm specializing in insurance securities in the United States. In 1969, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to Switzerland, a post he held until 1975. He had also served as first deputy superintendent of insurance in New York Governor Thomas Dewey's cabinet, and was economic advisor to Dewey during his run for the Presidency in 1944.

Serving on the boards of many public-policy organizations, including the Heritage Foundation, Shelby brought to the task a set of principles and a genuine fondness for people that was joyfully obvious, even to those on the opposite side of an issue. His quiet dedication to the conservative movement will be sorely missed. —Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Bill:

One must always be on the lookout, even here in Truckee. It seems that our premier winter sports area continues to be extremely politically incorrect. A colleague of mine has suggested a more appropriate name: "Native American Wife Valley." Or perhaps, to go back a spell, "Siberian American Wife Valley." Florence King triggered this line of thought with African-American board.

Sincerely,
Justin Clark Dygert
Truckee, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I thought that your column "Singapore Blues" (*NR*, May 16) provided a judicious *via media* in that it neither exalted nor totally deplored the manner in which the Singaporeans seek to punish and to deter vandalism in that city-state's streets.

As someone who has for many years written about and taught the history of Victorian Britain, I do, however, take strong issue with your statement: "In the glorious liberty-nurturing age of Queen Victoria, young Mr. Fay would have been hanged, not flogged." I would concur that, on balance, the age was "liberty-nurturing" and that in several respects it was "glorious," but it did very little hanging. Mr. Fay might conceivably have been hanged for a comparable crime in England during the eighteenth or very early nineteenth century, but in the 1820s and 1830s successive British Parliaments abolished virtually all capital offenses, and by the time Queen Victoria ascended to the throne in 1837 "executions were only carried out for *murder* and *attempted murder*; after 1841 for *murder* alone" (*British Historical Facts, 1830–1900*, Chris Cook and Brendan Keith, eds. [New York, 1975]). Mr. Fay might have been imprisoned or "transported" to a distant colony like Australia; to the best of my knowledge, convicts were not "transported" to the British colony of Singapore. Had he been a British soldier or sailor during the early Victorian years, he might well have been flogged (though not with a rattan cane). Had he, while a student at a "public school" like Eton during the early Victorian years, committed a comparable offense, then he would in all likelihood have been flogged by the headmaster.

One of the most "glorious" aspects of the Victorian era remains the fact that during most of that era the number of indictable criminal offenses known to the police continued, on a per-capita basis, to decline decade after decade. The types of punishment used had become similar to those of our own age, but speed and certainty of punishment were very much greater than they are in the United States today, and the pressures of social conformity would seem to have been both stronger and more effective.

Yours sincerely,
Walter L. Arnstein
Professor of History
University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The error in the list of members of the Council on Foreign Relations was quite glaring.

It read, "William F. Buckley Jr." Surely it was supposed to read, "Blackford Oakes." Surveillance job, you know.

Would you please ask Blackie if it's true that the goals of that body are to eliminate national boundaries and establish one-world rule, as alleged by those who attempt to cogitate far to the right of most thoughtful conservatives, which renders their faculties suspect?

They have warned me that this letter will disappear into a deep, dark hole. I don't believe it.

Sincerely,
Marco Gilliam
San Antonio, Tex.

Dear Mr. Gilliam: I checked with Oakes. He says, "Mr. B." (Oakes is quite formal in his social habits), "tell Mr. Gilliam to relax. The CFR has one-worlders in it, so does the National Association of Manufacturers. But the Council doesn't take corporate positions, and if the U.S. surrendered its sovereignty, then my own judgment of it, Mr. B., and I hope you'll agree with me, is that the U.S. deserves to lose it. If the American people are dumb enough to repeal the Constitution, then they don't deserve to have it. See my point?" I told Oakes yep, I see his point. Cordially, **—WFB**

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ON THE SCENE

Chaos Comes to Congress

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

D. F. Bach

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHAOS THEORY says that the order one perceives is not the true order. Originally developed to attack forecast models for the weather, and later extended to the economy, chaos theory would apply nicely to the federal budget, where nothing ever turns out as advertised.

Take the Clinton Administration's constant boasting that next year's budget deficit (FY 1995) will fall to $170 billion as a result of the budget cuts and tax increases in last year's "deal of the century." In fact, the only real budget cuts came in defense, where spending as a share of GDP will soon drop to 3.5 per cent, its lowest level in over forty years, a fact duly noted by North Korea's Kim Il Sung and other rogues around the world.

Meanwhile, *domestic* spending, which has increased 9 per cent annually over the past five years, is projected to rise by another 6 per cent per year, or twice the projected inflation rate, over the next five years. Hardly budget-cutting. What is more, the Clintonites have come up with massive new entitlement proposals for health care and welfare reform. These measures may be defeated this year, to be revisited by a more conservative Congress in 1995. But should they pass in this session, universally mandated health care and unlimited training and government jobs for welfare recipients would soon raise entitlement spending to double-digit growth rates. So much for future restraint.

As matters now stand, means-tested entitlements (e.g., Medicaid, food stamps, supplemental security income, AFDC, veterans' pensions, student loans) are expected to grow at a 9 per cent annual rate, or three times predicted inflation, over the next five years. Non-means-tested entitlements (mostly Social Security and Medicare, but also unemployment compensation, farm price supports, and others) are projected to rise 6 per cent per year. So, if all this spending is rising, why does Washington keep telling us about huge reductions in the deficit, not only from last year's deal, but also from George Bush's Presidency-ending deal in 1990? The answer is chaos theory: What is supposed to be is not.

There's even more of this on the revenue side. Remember the tax hike of 1990, when Bush moved his lips? It was supposed to raise $158 billion over five years. The latest estimates from the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) show a $486-billion *shortfall* from the initial baseline projection. Just a slight miss, really. So why should anyone believe that last year's tax hike will produce the projected $241-billion rise in revenues?

Indeed, revenue is already slipping. Congress expected income-tax receipts to grow by 7.2 per cent as a result of its "tax-the-rich" hike in the top individual-income-tax rate from 31 per cent to 40 per cent. For the first seven months (October through April) of FY 1994, these receipts have grown by only 6.2 per cent.

If this trend continues, Uncle Sam will come up $5 billion short by the end of the fiscal year. If individual income-tax receipts fall 1 percentage point below projections for five years, then the government will cumulatively fall $90 billion short, just in this one area. No one listened last year to Harvard economist Martin Feldstein and others who argued that higher tax rates on upper-income earners would lead to greater tax avoidance and reduced workforce participation, especially by spouses and other part-time earners. But that is exactly what seems to be happening.

One additional deception, back in the spending area. In 1990, much noise was made over the so-called tight-as-a-drum caps on discretionary (read: non-entitlement) spending. But the drum's canvas cover has badly sagged. The level of defense spending has declined by $24 billion since 1990. However, these "savings" were simply re-channeled into domestic discretionary spending; they were not used to reduce the deficit. During the past six years "government investment" (in transportation, community development, education, training, employment, and the environment) increased by $45 billion, or roughly 8 per cent a year.

More recently, Congress and the White House have colluded to break the spending caps by using emergencies such as hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes to lard supplemental appropriations bills with sizable pork. Of the $11 billion expended for the L.A. earthquake, for example, $3.2 billion was clearly non-emergency funding. In fact, domestic "emergency" authorizations in recent years have totaled nearly $40 billion, completely busting the spending caps.

Looking at this Alice-in-Wonderland fiscal fairy tale, where tax hikes do not generate higher revenues, and spending cuts turn into increases, one might reasonably ask: How is it that the deficit has still come down below $200 billion? There are two answers. First, the gradual recovery of the nation's banking system has lowered government outlays for deposit insurance by $74 billion in the past two years, as the

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

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Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) is now collecting money from the sale of assets, rather than spending money to purchase them. But this has nothing to do with ongoing program spending.

Second, Congress and the Administration continue to count Social Security and other retirement trust-fund surpluses—averaging roughly $135 billion a year over the next five years—as part of the overall deficit total, despite a truth-in-budgeting bill a few years ago that explicitly put such surpluses off-budget.

To identify the actual on-budget or cash deficit, the budget totals must be adjusted first to exclude the one-time S&L bail-out transactions and then to exclude the raid on retirement trust funds improperly used to finance ongoing programs. When this is done, a truer picture appears: $267 billion in 1994, $250 billion in 1995. Now, these are numbers we never hear from President Clinton, or OMB Director Panetta, or anyone else in official Washington; they consistently use figures of under $200 billion. Even more staggering, after two budget "deals of the century," if we exclude the civilian and military retirement trust-fund surpluses, then the estimated deficit rises to $331 billion for 1994, hovers around $300 billion in 1995, and moves up to $353 billion by 1999. $353 billion? Hardly worth the two largest tax increases in peacetime history, which have produced the weakest recovery in forty years.

With this in mind, it is no wonder that younger congressmen in both parties are pressing for tough budget reforms to enforce rules strictly, do more to control spending, and obviate the need for additional tax increases. GOP budget expert John Kasich (R., Ohio) believes that the "budget arteries are still severed and will again start gushing new blood" unless his proposal is passed in this session.

Known as the Common Cents Budget Reform Act of 1994, and cosponsored by Charles Stenholm (D., Tex.) and Tim Penny (D., Minn.), this bill's principal contribution would be to put an end to the "current services baseline," whereby each new budget is based not on the actual level of last year's budget spending, but instead on that spending adjusted upward by forecasts of future inflation, population growth, and various fudge factors. Not only does baseline budgeting ensure constant overspending, it permits congressmen to lie to their constituents about budget cuts.

Imagine a family that initially decides to buy a $30,000 car, then opts instead for one that costs $20,000. The family is still out 20 large ones. In Congress, however, that would be scored as a $10,000 "budget cut"! In practice, if a program like welfare is projected to rise by 10 per cent, and instead increases by 9 per cent, congressmen go home and tell their constituents they have "painfully cut" welfare. Kasich–Penny–Stenholm would put a stop to this, by requiring the White House and Congress to compare new budgets to the *amount actually spent* in the prior year, without any automatic increases.

Another bill, proposed by Representative Chris Cox (R., Calif.) and cosponsored in the Senate by Trent Lott (R., Miss.), Richard Shelby (D., Ala.), Bob Dole (R., Kan.), and Phil Gramm (R., Tex.), would require a two-thirds super-majority for any waivers related to budget rule-making. This would apply to spending increases above the level set in the joint budget resolution, including entitlements (other than Social Security) and all supplemental appropriations, *including* emergency spending measures.

Potentially more significant, however, is the A to Z bill sponsored by Representative Rob Andrews (D., N.J.) and Bill Zeliff (R., N.H.). This would set aside 56 hours of special-session debate on the budget, with everything on the table, including all entitlements. Recorded votes would be taken for the sake of accountability. Talk about chaos theory! Of course, the old-bull Democratic committee chairmen hate this bill. On a nice sweltering August day, when some of the geezers might not even make it to the floor, the entire New Deal budget legacy could be swept away in a couple of hours. Think of it. That is why the Rules Committee is trying to bottle up A to Z, requiring a discharge petition to scoop it out and shuttle it to the floor. Notwithstanding the dinosaurs, as of this writing there's still a decent chance that some form of A to Z might yet come up in the current session, ushering in chaos as the only reliable path to fiscal order. And after that, might we hope for some election-day chaos this November to change the nature of the free-spending Democratic Congress? □

George Who? v. Florio II

RICHARD BROOKHISER

NEW YORK

THE FIRST *New York Daily News* poll on the New York gubernatorial race showed all the world what pundits have suspected for months: this is one to watch. The Republican nominee, George Pataki, trailed three-term incumbent Mario Cuomo by only 7 points—48 per cent to 41 per cent—even though only 2 per cent described themselves as "very familiar" with Pataki. "Cuomo looks like Florio II," said Tim Carey, the Republican National Committee's regional director, referring to former New Jersey Governor Jim Florio, who was beaten by Christine Todd Whitman last fall. Mr. Carey neglected to say anything about George Pataki being Whitman II—which may be the weakness that does him in.

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR *senior editor, is a columnist for the* New York Observer.

Cuomo's weaknesses were on display at the Democratic Party convention in Buffalo. Over the last 12 years, there have been two Mario Cuomos. The Cuomo of rhetoric, as the nation knows him, is the liberal purist, who inducted St. Francis of Assisi into the Democratic Party at the 1984 San Francisco convention. The Cuomo of action, as Albany knows him, is a liberal too, but of the business-as-usual variety. He cuts taxes when the pressure to do so becomes irresistible, while spending all the money he can lay his hands on and more, whence the state's debt. It is a record that was accurately, if unwittingly, summed up by Cuomo's media advisor, David Garth: "Twenty-two of the 26 Thruway restaurants have been rebuilt. It boggles the mind."

But 12 years of this kind of thing has taken its toll on the state, and even Cuomo's rhetoric is not what it

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used to be. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is also running for a fourth term this fall, accepted his nomination with a bad speech, but that is no surprise: Moynihan has hardly given a good one since the UN. Cuomo, uncharacteristically, bombed too, with a rambling and bathetic address. "Where would I be if the negativists who mocked my parents as dagos had been at the wheel of our government?" Fearful of a weak turnout among black voters, Cuomo capped the evening by appearing in a Baptist church with the Rev. Al Sharpton, who hopes to challenge Moynihan in a primary.

The Republican convention in New York City capped a months-long battle royal. The GOP was eager not to repeat the debacle of 1990, when the party fielded an obscure and stupid businessman. Accordingly, Senator Alfonse D'Amato early on threw his weight behind an obscure and bright state senator, George Pataki, who was a pollster's computer's ideal GOP candidate: Catholic, anti-tax, pro-death-penalty, pro-abortion. D'Amato had not reckoned on the ire of State Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino, who disliked Pataki for two reasons: Pataki had won his State Senate seat by defeating a Republican incumbent in a primary; worse, he had won it with the blessing of Change-NY, a state anti-tax group, which had campaigned against Marino.

There were two conservatives in the field: Herb London, a dean at New York University and the Conservative Party's 1990 gubernatorial candidate; and Evan Galbraith, former ambassador to France and chairman of *NR*'s board of directors. In retrospect, Galbraith was hobbled coming out of the gate by a "county-option" abortion position, which struck pols and activists as whimsical. London campaigned for four years to little effect, until the home stretch, when Marino began cheering him on (which was very odd, since London had endorsed Change-NY's attack on Marino). The D'Amato forces pushed Pataki to victory, at a convention notable for its brisk use of the gavel. "A hijacking . . . a hit job . . . bushwhacked . . . thugs," London said the day after. The day after that, he joined the thugs as candidate for comptroller, the state financial officer. "Unity," he told me, "does not mean unanimity." The GOP nominated two women, Bernadette Castro and Elizabeth McCaughey, for senator and lieutenant governor respectively. Miss Castro, a sofa-bed heiress, has no known political skills, but much money. Mrs. McCaughey, though she has never run for office either, has had a definite impact on politics, for she is the Manhattan Institute policy wonk whose pummeling of the Clinton health plan in *The New Republic* sent the White House into shock. Since the Democrats were not expected to nominate any women, the Republicans left town pleased with themselves, despite their gouged eyes and torn ears.

According to Mike Long, chairman of the Conservative Party, there had to be a Conservative on the Republican ticket to ensure a "marriage" between the two parties. Long had fought a losing war to the death against Republican/Liberal Rudolph Giuliani in the New York City mayor's race last year, and I asked him why he was playing the role of matchmaker now. "Pataki has a history and a record," he told me, "and it's pretty damn good." Though he is pro-abortion, he is against Medicaid funding of abortions, and for parental notification. "If Pataki becomes governor, fewer babies are gonna die."

The Conservative Party convention in Albany accepted the marriage with protests. Pataki got the gubernatorial nod, but Robert Relph, an insurance salesman from Watertown, won enough votes to guarantee him an automatic primary challenge. The Conservatives also refused to endorse Bernadette Castro, instead nominating Henry Hewes, a lawyer and anti-abortion activist; they might well have stiffed Elizabeth McCaughey, if there had been a Conservative willing to run for lieutenant governor.

The problem was abortion. Both Miss Castro and Mrs. McCaughey favor Medicaid funding of abortions. Their presence on Al D'Amato's hand-picked ticket casts an interesting light on his abortion position, which looks more and more like a Republican variant of being "personally opposed": Senator D'Amato will vote against abortion himself, but wants other people to vote for subsidizing it.

GEORGE PATAKI, 48, the son of a postman and a waitress, grew up on a farm in Peekskill. After graduating from Yale and Columbia Law School, he worked for state legislators in the Seventies, was elected mayor of Peekskill in 1981, state assemblyman in 1984, and state senator (defeating one of the legislators for whom he had worked) in 1992. He is 6′5″ and good enough looking, and he knows how little known he is. Working an Israel Day parade with D'Amato and the comic Jackie Mason, he noticed that everyone was yelling "Jackie." "I was pretending they were calling 'Pataki.'"

He expects his warhead issues against Mario Cuomo to be crime and punishment, and taxing and spending. He promises to sign a bill reinstituting the death penalty, which Cuomo has vetoed each time the legislature has sent it to him. He wants to cut the personal income tax and the capital-gains tax, and to eliminate the corporate-income-tax surcharge. "Temporary taxes under Mario Cuomo last longer than jobs," he told me. "We need to compete, not just with the Sunbelt, but with Connecticut and New Jersey." Candidates for cuts include bureaucratic fat, Medicaid, and welfare: "I have to look at programs that require recipients to be responsible and learn before getting a check."

Nothing wrong with this, as far as it goes. But, apart from the death penalty—and abortion—Pataki's array of positions does not yet go anyplace definite. When pressed for details, he says that these will follow. Pataki is "looking at" issues; as of this writing, New Yorkers are still waiting to see what he sees.

This is not how Christine Todd Whitman beat Jim Florio. Florio was even less popular than Cuomo. But he was principled and energetic, and the race hung in the balance until Mrs. Whitman advanced a detailed tax-cut program. In this, Pataki may be helped by a Republican primary. In New York state, if a candidate does not win a primary slot at his party's convention, he can claim one by collecting 15,000 valid petition signatures. Richard Rosenbaum, the last rusted flywheel of the Rockefeller machine, has vowed to do just that, and though he is solidly pro-choice, on taxes he is running as a supply-sider. Pataki will probably overwhelm him, but he may learn something in the process.

Pataki got off to a weak start in his response to Cuomo's ridiculous "dagos"

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speech. Instead of telling the governor to grow up and give it a rest, he declared that his own immigrant grandfather "worked in a stable shoveling horse manure"—a skill Pataki evidently retains. He will have to do better if he wants to keep Mario Cuomo from being Cuomo IV. □

Labor Pains

TOM BETHELL

Roberto Parada

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ON JUNE 14 the Coalition for Workplace Fairness, about 150 supporters of organized labor, all wearing "S-55 Now" buttons, gathered in the Senate's Dirksen Office Building. They had come to lobby for the striker-replacement bill, which passed the House of Representatives last year by 239 to 190. It was then called the César Chavez Workplace Fairness Act. Its final enactment has since been stymied by the Senate's filibuster provision, which requires 60 votes to achieve "cloture" (end the filibuster).

The bill would amend the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit the hiring of permanent replacement workers for those on strike, and would therefore greatly encourage unions to strike. At present, those who strike for economic reasons must worry that they may not get their jobs back. With the new law, as President Clinton has said, workers could strike "without fear of losing their jobs." He nonetheless supports the legislation, and in a letter to an AFL-CIO official has promised to "work for final passage of the Workplace Fairness bill" when it comes up in the U.S. Senate.

This was the hour—or so it seemed. Senator Metzenbaum of Ohio, who made millions in the parking-garage business before becoming a left-wing senator, was expected momentarily. Meanwhile, some of the unionists present were openly jeering at the "corporate lobbyists" to be seen in the corridors (hoping to amend the Superfund reauthorization bill). Waiting to speak on behalf of "Workplace Fairness" were representatives of the AFL-CIO, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the ACLU, and the U.S. Catholic Conference; in short, people who believe that economic activity occurs of its own accord.

Here now was Howard Metzenbaum, the silvery-eyebrowed, tan-suited, 77-year-old Hero of Organized Labor, set to retire later this year. Introduced as "the father of S-55," he approached a shrubbery of microphones. In his hand he bore an expensively produced volume containing a list of 19,722 replaced strikers, he said. His remarks were directed against "fast-buck artists," the "leveraged-buyout crowd," Republicans in general, and Bob Dole in particular. "We're facing a situation in the Senate where the Republicans are determined to keep this bill from even coming to the floor," he said. With the exception of Senator Hatfield of Oregon, the GOP was "holding totally solid."

A few minutes later, Metzenbaum left the hearing room and was soon surrounded by reporters. Organized labor was at this point five or six votes short of cloture, he said. Clinton had called Senators Dale Bumpers and David Pryor, both Democrats from Arkansas, but both were still holding out. Sam Nunn wasn't on board either. And Chuck Robb was unenthusiastic. He had written to constituents: "I have deliberately not taken a position on this litmus-test issue in order to facilitate working with both management and labor on other issues where cooperation is essential."

"Senator Mitchell wants to bring it to the floor this week," Metzenbaum told a reporter. But there was also a spreading rumor that Majority Leader Mitchell and Senator Kennedy, a leading sponsor of the bill, had that day disagreed. Kennedy wanted an immediate vote for cloture, apparently. But in response to grumbles from Democrats eager to skirt an issue they knew to be unpopular, Mitchell was apparently reluctant to press ahead. The word was that Metzenbaum himself would "file for cloture" that night on the Senate floor. Meanwhile the Senate was tied up debating airport construction and Whitewater hearings.

Over at the National Right to Work Committee in Springfield, Virginia, they were watching the Senate action on C-SPAN. This is the key group that has been lobbying against the bill. "Everyone here is locked and loaded for a cloture petition," said Stephen Goodrick, vice president for communications. Senate rules allow at least 48 hours before a cloture vote, and in that time the Right to Work people will contact TV stations in seven states and give the go-ahead to run their ads immediately. These have already been sent out to the stations, along with checks to pay for them.

Martin Fox, public-affairs director of the Right to Work Committee, noted that "the backers of this bill have not done what they have shown they can do, and that is generate a lot of press attention to the legislation. That tells us they recognize how unpopular it is." In 1992, a *Time* poll found that 60 per cent of Americans were opposed to a law that would "prohibit employers from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers."

Unions are already legally privileged entities, exempt from antitrust laws, but without new privileges their membership as a percentage of the private sector is expected to decline from its present 11.5 to about 7 by the year 2000. The striker-replacement bill is the chosen vehicle to bolster unions' power, at a time when they still have the financial clout to intimidate money-seeking pols.

"What drives this Congress and its members to enact a job-destruction bill like striker replacement?" Repre-

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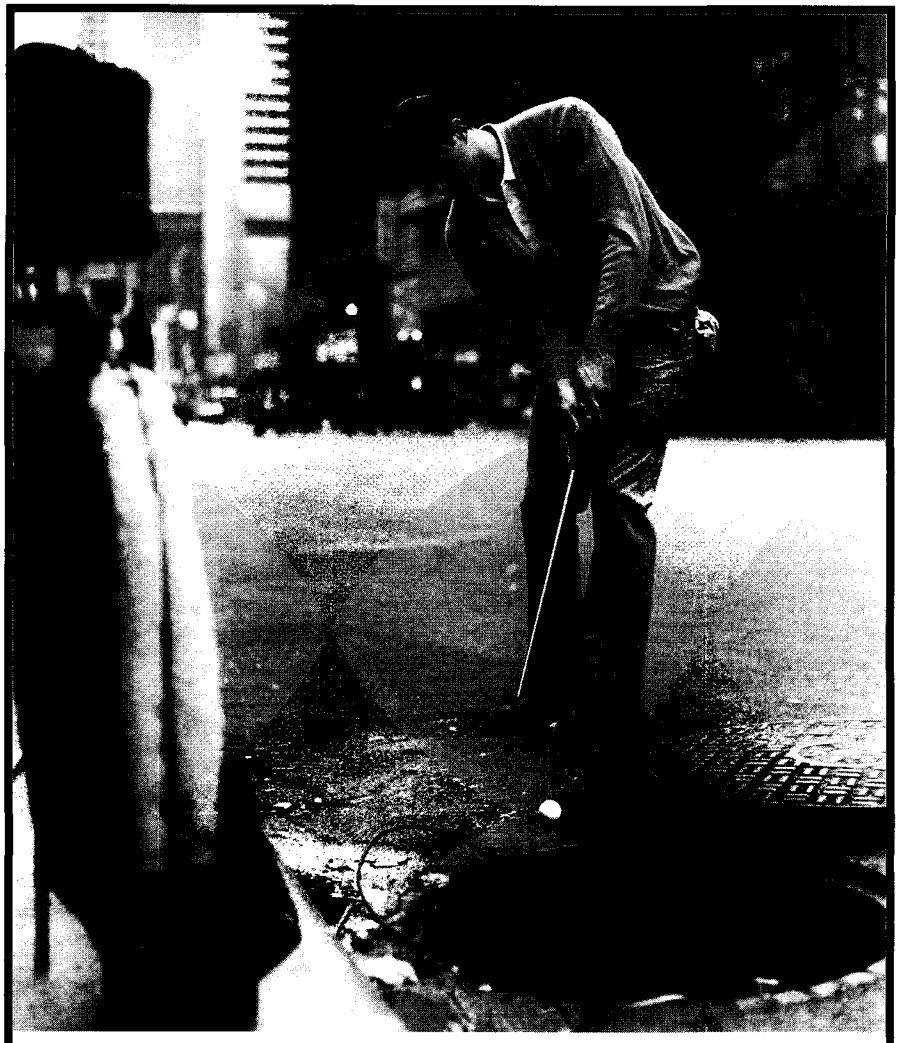
sentative John Mica of Florida asked in the House debate last year. "With over $41 million pouring into over 850 congressional campaigns [from labor PACs] in 1992, is that the reason? Maybe I should not have asked these questions."

Representative Charles Wilson of Texas put the point more obscurely. He explained his vote for the strike bill this way: "In our district, with the exception of organized labor, there wasn't much support for the bill. In fact, there was more opposition. But from the standpoint of a sitting congressman, when people have supported you [and] they ask you do something that's tough, you just have to do it. That's political morality."

Unions are organizations whose activities seem to be directed against management but in fact are hostile to competing labor. Consider Holsum Bakery in Phoenix, Arizona, which endured a violent strike at the hands of the Bakers & Confectioners Workers in 1991. The company could not afford to meet union demands costing an extra $550 per month per employee, and when the union struck, the company hired replacements. Existing benefits were attractive enough to those who were working elsewhere for less. So was the knowledge that the replacement workers would have permanent jobs. In the light of the striker-replacement bill, Holsum president Edward Eisele asks: "Do you seriously believe any of the people who were already employed at another job, who were seeking to earn more money here and improve their station in life, would have been willing to cross a very violent picket line [over 160 acts of violence] for a temporary job?" It's bad enough that unions can get away with this violence—and they can. But the effect of the new legislation would be to increase the coercive powers of unions, to diminish the liberties of the unorganized, and to increase unemployment.

By the end of the Senate session that day, Metzenbaum still had not made his move. Nor the following day. After the July 4 recess, the prospects for the legislation will diminish. The worry of Reed Larson and others at the National Right to Work Committee is that Metzenbaum will propose a compromise. Republicans have been known to swoon when they hear that word. □



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RANDOM WALK

■ According to the Clinton Administration, and many on Wall Street, the recent numbers on inflation are low and will remain that way. But one important dissenter is economist John A. Tatom of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank—traditional center of monetarism inside the Fed system. In a recent paper he criticizes inflation optimists like Laura Tyson, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, and even well-known inflation hawk Wayne Angell, a former Fed governor and currently Bear Stearns's chief economist, who "believes that a preemptive strike by the Fed is all that is necessary to prevent an acceleration in prices . . ."

Tatom argues that people have misread the government's inflation reports, which actually show an accelerating trend. The consumer price index has increased at a 2.7 annual rate since September 1993, up sharply from a 1.8 per cent pace over the previous five months. Similarly, the producer price index has risen 1.1 per cent annually over the past eight months, compared to a 2.7 per cent declining rate in the prior five months.

Why? The double-digit growth of M1—currency, checking-account balances, and travelers' checks. "Over the past three years M1 has risen by more than one-third, fueled by Federal Reserve actions to expand liquidity, including net purchases of government securities amounting to over $100 billion," writes Tatom.

He is also critical of President Clinton's economic forecast, where consumer prices in 1994 are projected to rise only slightly from 1993, from 2.7 per cent to 3.3 per cent. Tatom argues, however, that "a look back at earlier experiences shows that consumer prices have risen an average of 2.5 percentage points faster in the year following the end of . . . periods of disinflation." Owing to his sensitive position as a senior Fed official, Tatom does not explicitly reveal his own forecast. But he does note that an "average acceleration in inflation would push the CPI measure up from 2.5 per cent during the past four quarters to 5 per cent during the next year . . ." Did he say 5 per cent? So that's why oil has suddenly shot up to over $20 per barrel, even though OPEC has done nothing to make it rise.

■ I've done my fair share of Clinton-bashing in recent months, but it may be time to recognize that on one issue the President has lived up to his billing as a genuine "New Democrat," and that is on trade.

Sure Clinton bungled NAFTA for months on end but give him credit: the bottom line is he got the W. He waffled on China, but in the end did the right thing by extending Most Favored Nation status and de-linking free trade from human rights. Now he's promoting the GATT agreement—albeit with his usual timorousness. But if the White House successfully shepherds GATT through Congress, trade barriers will be lower than in decades. This will add hundreds of billions of dollars of wealth to workers here and perhaps trillions to the citizens of the rest of the world.

The only potential stumbling block appears to be the financing issue. GATT is a $13-billion tax cut for consumers. Under the budget rules, the revenues must be replaced. Of course, everyone outside of the wonderland of the congressional Joint Tax Committee agrees that the revenue losses from the lower tariffs will be more than offset by the increased output and productivity gains generated by world trade liberalization.

In any case, to pay for GATT, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor has been floating the idea of a tax on telecommunications firms (sheer idiocy) and other tax hikes. These are sure to lose Republican votes and jeopardize GATT's passage. But one creative idea to pay for GATT, suggested by Heritage Fellow Joe Cobb, would be to cut the capital-gains tax in half, or provide a temporary, 12-month rate cut to unlock the hundreds of billions of dollars of assets frozen in place by high rates. The Texas-based Institute for Policy Innovation says that this would raise well over the $13 billion needed to offset GATT—and everyone goes away happy.

The combination of GATT and a capital-gains cut may make Bill Clinton tough to beat in 1996.

"My conscience keeps bothering me. Can you give me something to quiet it?"

■ Representative Dick Armey (R., Tex.) has just released a flat-tax plan that would eliminate virtually all deductions in return for a 20 per cent income-tax rate. But with all due respect, there are some deductions I would urge him to retain. Last month the U.S. Tax Court ruled that exotic dancer Cynthia Hess (a/k/a "Chesty Love") can depreciate her assets—both of them—just as business depreciates any income-producing asset. According to an Associated Press report, the judge declared that Miss Hess legitimately claimed $2,088 business write-offs from her 1988 income taxes to depreciate her surgically implanted breasts, because her dancing fees more than doubled (to $1,500 a week) after the operation.

There are some things that are not best kept flat and simple. —GEKKO

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The GOP and Immigration

RIGHT OF SILENCE?

Of ten leading Republicans, two favor keeping our current immigration policy, two favor changing it more or less radically, and six are agnostic. What future for America would each position lead to?

ROY BECK

LAST FALL, a Republican National Committee survey discovered a remarkable unity among 134,000 grassroots activists about the potentially contentious issue of immigration. By a 5 to 1 margin, the party leaders and elected officials affirmed: Immigration levels are too high.

But who at the top of the party will champion such mass sentiment for change? The field is not crowded, at least not this summer, according to an informal canvassing of the RNC and of ten national-profile leaders who are considered possible presidential contenders.

—Only two of the Republicans (Bob Dole and Pat Buchanan) were prepared even to say they agreed with the grassroots GOP majority. Besides taking strong stands against illegal immigration, both favor the reversal of federal policies that have more than tripled legal immigration since 1965, the year a major overhaul of U.S. immigration law was enacted. "While America remains the land of opportunity, it is not the land of unlimited opportunity for unlimited numbers of immigrants, both legal and illegal," says Dole.

—Two other leaders (Jack Kemp and Phil Gramm) said they believe the apparent grassroots majority is misled on immigration. They said they wanted to use their leadership to resist cutting legal immigration while educating the voters about the advantages of recent higher levels. "I just don't agree with some of my colleagues that immigration is a threat to America," Kemp said.

Gramm said he feels required by principle to defend immigration: "We have room in America for people who are willing to work. I am not ready, nor will I ever be ready, to tear down the Statute of Liberty or close the door to America. . . . We have found genius in ordinary people through immigration and have brought in new blood, new vision, and new energy."

—Six GOP leaders (Bill Bennett, Dick Cheney, Dan Quayle, Pat Robertson, Bill Weld, Pete Wilson) declined to endorse either the grassroots desire for change or current high-immigration policies. They (or their spokesmen) indicated that they hadn't given the three-decade phenomenon of renewed mass immigration enough thought to comment on it. A spokeswoman for Bennett was as straightforward as any: "This is not his issue. He's not up to speed on it. He hasn't looked at this issue at all. It's not one he's studied and not one he ever speaks on. He has no expertise on it." The Republican National Committee also places itself with these six leaders, offering no analysis of legal immigration because the 1992 Platform didn't address it.

It is important to note that the lack of leadership is on *legal* immigration. Many Republicans have been forceful in tackling illegal immigration. But illegal aliens amount to only about one-fourth of permanently settling foreigners each year. Leaders who work only to halt illegal entries would, if successful, ensure merely that future immigration will take four years to create the burdens on America (in terms of congestion, welfare, and so on) that today occur in three years.

The Face of America, 2050

THERE are essentially two versions of America's demographic future, deriving from the two major approaches to immigration.

The Challengers' Version. Those who challenge the current immigration policy want to cut immigration back to near its traditional U.S. average of about 297,000 per year (the average annual rate from the beginning of immigration recordkeeping in 1820 to the 1965 Act). If successful, the traditionalists would create a country with a slow-growing population that shortly after 2050 would stabilize for the first time in our his-

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tory. Foreign workers would play a proportionately decreasing role in the economy (which traditionalists argue would lead to improving standards of living for all Americans). America's ethnic minorities would gradually become a larger percentage of the population, because of continuing, though lower, immigration and relatively high fertility. But the country would retain its European-descended majority and its traditional cultural identity in which an American nationhood—encompassing different ethnicities but based upon a British/European culture—would continue to evolve.

Public-opinion polling since 1976 has found the majority of Americans endorsing something similar to this vision of the future. Most have opposed the social changes thrust on their communities by federal immigration policies. Many have been concerned that it will be more difficult to maintain what they consider to be an American lifestyle of personal freedoms in an ever more densely populated country. A 1992 Roper poll found Americans, by a ratio 7 to 1, felt the country was already suffering from too high a population, an opinion that placed the public at direct odds with the government's immigration policy.

Pat Buchanan aggressively advocates the immigration traditionalists' version of the American future. Bob Dole has indicated some sympathy for this America, although his current legislative stance would reduce immigration by such a small amount that the results would not differ significantly from those brought about by the government's current policies.

The Government Version. Those who are enthusiastic about the immigration status quo would create anything but a status-quo country. Their America would be one of rapid demographic change. By 2050, they would have added foreigners and their descendants in numbers equivalent to the entire U.S. population at the time of World War II. Most parts of the economy would be constantly infused with fresh supplies of foreign workers and consumers. Gross economic production should expand, but not necessarily per-capita production. African-Americans—the country's traditional ethnic minority since the earliest days—would be surpassed in numbers by populations from other continents. The United States would become, in the words of Ben Wattenberg, a "universal nation," a country made up primarily of minority groups, with no majority ethnic/cultural group.

Although many commentators today believe the unfolding of this new America to be inevitable, it would not occur except for congressional policies. Its most vocal advocates are immigration-rights groups, national religious advocacy offices, economic libertarians, and representatives of some industries. They say high immigration and population growth is necessary to ensure economic vitality and to be true to America's moral obligations.

Gramm's and Kemp's immigration stances would continue Washington's creation of this future of rapid demographic change. But so would the non-stances of Bennett, Cheney, Quayle, Robertson, Weld, and Wilson. Whether or not they prefer this second future, their non-involvement in the debate leaves unhindered the immigration policy that would lead to that future.

At Last, a Debate

ONLY RECENTLY have these two radically disparate versions of America's future begun to be raised to the level of a national debate, with attendant media coverage. Until Buchanan's 1992 presidential bid, Americans who opposed Washington's version had few or no leaders to voice their concerns. Last fall Senator Harry Reid, a moderate Democrat from Nevada, broke the legislative barrier and introduced the first bill to provide what the majority of Americans have been telling pollsters they wanted for the last 18 years: a reduction (by two-thirds) in legal immigration.

Reid has been followed by several rank-and-file House members of both parties who have introduced their own bills. They have tapped into a heretofore unseen reservoir of congressional discontent with both parties' leadership support for rapid demographic change. Collectively, the bills have garnered more than a hundred co-sponsors thus far.

The House immigration traditionalists question the country's ability to keep up with infrastructure, education, environment, law-enforcement, and social-services needs if the government stays its course in boosting the population another 130 million by 2050. And they doubt that the government can expand to provide for all the extra people without raising taxes.

"I don't think Americans want to live in a country with 130 million more people than we already have; I know my constituents don't," said Representative Bob Stump, the little-known Arizona Republican who last February showed up with legislation that would cut current legal immigration by at least 75 per cent. With no forewarning or coordination with party leadership, Stump walked onto the floor of the House with his bill and began asking for endorsements. In a matter of weeks he had surprised everyone by garnering more than five dozen co-sponsors, a third of them Democrats. "Very few people have turned me down after I educate them," Stump said. "I don't know what the rationale of the leadership is, but they just won't sign on."

Senator Kennedy's Accident

THE government's demographic future actually was born by accident, according to former Senator Eugene McCarthy, who was one of the co-sponsors of the 1965 legislation. Supporters of the bill such as Senator Edward Kennedy said it would remove unjust barriers to immigrants from non-European countries but promised that it would not substantially change the country's ethnic mix or increase immigration numbers by more than a few thousand over the 1965 level of 297,000. (That number coincidentally is the same as the 1820–1965 average.) But the bill's provisions for admitting relatives of immigrants—and its

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Why America Needs an Immigration Moratorium

From amidst the cacophony of discordant immigration proposals, one hears the emergence of some simple truths. First we now know that immigration is costing somebody, or some people, a lot of money. Whether its hundreds of millions or billions (the studies never seem to agree), it's clear that immigration is not a self-financing proposition. State taxpayers in California, Florida, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia and Texas are demanding action.

Second, it's clear that immigration is now a political issue of some potency. Polls indicated that most Americans generally oppose immigration, if for no other reason than they think immigration is needless. Some is OK, they say, but only as long as there are no noticeable ill effects.

But all that changed in the face of Haitian boats, the World Trade Center bombing, Chinese boats, international immigrant-smuggling and crime syndicates, persistent illegal immigration from Mexico, and high profile tales of immigrant-related welfare rip-offs.

Now a public consensus has emerged: Let's hold off on more immigration. If immigration is costing money and creating other problems, why not just give the country a break from immigration for a while?

So far, the political leadership in this country has failed to grasp this whole analysis. Most Democrats and Republicans have suggested either beefing up the Border Patrol or cutting benefits for illegal immigrants. Within these two broad strategies is an array of often inconsistent ideas to "defuse immigrant bashing," as it's often called.

The administration's "border enhancement plan," for example, includes measures to accelerate naturalization ceremonies. This noble- sounding initiative to create more citizens will actually produce longer backlogs for waiting relatives (now at 4 million) and only increase future pressures for illegal immigration.

Eventually political leaders will have to face facts: Immigration is costing money. Rather than cut off welfare to immigrants, or rubber-stamp more applications, Congress and the president need to think about cutting the number of immigrants. That's really what the public wants. And it is probably only a matter of time before most politicians figure this out.

Unfortunately, the current laws take us in exactly the wrong direction, actually causing immigration levels to increase.

Based on current projections of temporary and permanent immigration, new labor market entrants are likely to exceed available jobs by more than 8 million in the next 10 years. This cannot be allowed to happen. We need a pause in immigration for a while.

Don't get me wrong. To reduce immigration, or provide a moratorium or time-out, is not to suggest that many immigrants do not become hard working, model citizens. It simply means that the country needs a break to absorb and handle its critical social and internal problems, and clean up its affairs to face the 21st century. It needs to strengthen its national institutions, civilization and culture to withstand the future stresses and strains likely to emerge later this decade.

We've had such immigration breaks in the past. In the early 19th century, and for a good part of the 20th, we've enjoyed sustained periods of very low immigration. And the truth is, sustained pauses have been good for the country and especially good for recent immigrants.

A few in Congress have figured this out. Despite feeling that it would be wonderful to take anyone who wants to come here, they are facing the sad truth that we need to limit immigration significantly to preserve the nation.

But, for the most part, the discordant noise of a bewildered and perplexed national leadership is still drowning out the tough truths needed for a brighter future. While the immigration issue is now firmly on the national radar screen, we may be years away from serious reform. How long can we wait?

by Dan Stein, Executive Director

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lack of an overall ceiling—led to a snowballing effect that supporters neither anticipated nor desired.

Through the 1965 Act, Congress unthinkingly put in place policies that would serve as a blueprint for a much-changed future. As the unexpected results began to appear over the next three decades, however, Congress modified the policy only in ways that *accelerated* immigration and population growth. The stated motivation almost never had anything to do with a vision of America's future, but rather with satisfying short-term immigration demands.

The challengers' blueprint—the vision of an America with a population that would grow more slowly at first and eventually stabilize—arose from a conscious examination of America's demographic future. President Nixon believed that many of the domestic problems of his time were due to the nation's inability to deal with having grown from 100 million to 200 million in only fifty years. He feared the consequences of the nation's growing to 300 million, and so he persuaded Congress to create a commission of 24 leaders from corporations, unions, the two major parties, and environmental, eth-

A Nation Once Again?

WHAT do conservatives think about immigration? In particular, what do conservative intellectuals think about immigration? At the Philadelphia Society's meeting in Chicago on April 22–24—it's thirtieth-anniversary meeting, as it happens—the group explored the theme: "The USA: An Idea or a People?"

The conservative proposition is that the United States is not an ideological abstraction but a nation, a people, a culture—like other nations in some respects but unique, as John O'Sullivan pointed out, in one vital particular: "American national identity remains at the moment more cultural than ethnic," and for that reason "this identity is inclusive. It is possible to *become* an American," no matter what one's genetic roots, "in a way it is not possible to become a Slovak or a Pole." Liberals, by contrast, along with some conservatives, believe that America began with certain ideas about liberty and equality, "outlined in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution," and that those ideas continue to define America.

The implications of the two views are profoundly different. Culture, organically transmitted "by dint of common history, habits, tastes, shared experiences, tales, songs, memories, familiarity, and intermarriage," is richer, more real, and truer than any philosophy. Most importantly, the conservative view "offers a protection against the virus of multiculturalism, which the liberal theory cannot offer." Indeed, open immigration in a context of the welfare state and multiculturalism gives a boost to liberal statists, who have an interest in fragmenting the country into many nationalisms in order to dominate them.

Of course, the American people, while more unified in times past, were never strictly speaking homogeneous. I began the morning panel the next day by tracing colonial immigration patterns—predominantly from the British Isles, but divided between hill people and valley people, herders and farmers—and concluded that, well before the Declaration, America had the makings of national unity and a national character as well as the seeds of disunion, regional characters, and civil war. Bernard Sheehan analyzed the disagreements among historians over when and why America changed from a largely communal and hierarchical society into an atomistic agglomerate of acquisitive individuals. It is easy, at the end of the twentieth century, to blame much of America's decline on LBJ or FDR, or on the Progressives who preceded them. But, as I replied to a questioner following the presentations, the process really began almost as soon as the ink was dry on the Founding documents, as those in power in each succeeding generation extended the franchise to maintain that power—much as some liberals today want to extend it not only to non-citizens but even to illegal aliens.

John Willson, drawing on his forthcoming work on Timothy Dwight, focused on the New England character—derived from the settled, valley-dwelling strain of immigrants. Dwight believed that "society preceded government" and that "the character of the citizens determined the character of the government." It was on the "spiritual and cultural strength and moral continuities" of the local community that all else depended. These were attitudes and beliefs that Americans shared—whatever they thought about natural rights to liberty and equality—and that laid the foundations for the evolving American culture of which O'Sullivan had spoken.

The first afternoon session, entitled "What They Saw in America," was devoted to the United States as seen by three foreign visitors and one quintessential American. Christopher Wolfe summarized Tocqueville's belief that America's genius was in its sense of community, but that its democratic political system was inimical to excellence. Lord Bryce, according to James McClellan, described Americans as "good-natured, optimistic, intelligent, practical, conservative, religious without being superstitious, tolerant, industrious, and hard-working"—traits that have since "gone the way of the bison." On the negative side, Bryce cited as American faults "a tendency to level down intelligence, laxity in the enforcement of the law, the low moral level of our politics, and the concomitant mediocrity of political and professional life"—nothing changed there, McClellan quipped. Robert Royal quoted a number of Chesterton's epigrams, among them, "America is a melting pot, but the melting pot itself must not melt." Chesterton grew almost poetic in describing parts of America, notably in his por-

Mr. McDonald, a professor of history at the University of Alabama, is the author, most recenty, of The American Presidency: An Intellectual History.

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nic, and women's organizations. In 1972, after two years of work under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller III, the commission concluded that it could find no benefit from the United States' growing beyond its then population of just above 200 million.

"Population growth forces upon us slow but irreversible changes in lifestyle," the report stated. "Imbedded in our traditions as to what constitutes the American way of life is freedom from public regulation—virtually free use of water; access to uncongested unregulated roadways; freedom to do as we please with what we own. . . . Clearly, we do not live this way now. Maybe we never did. But everything is relative. The population of 2020 may look back with envy on what, from their vantage point, appears to be our relatively unfettered way of life."

In order to achieve its ultimate goal of a less congested, less regulated, less environmentally destructive and less socially strained style of living, the commission put particular emphasis on family planning. As it happens, however, by the time the commission's report was released, American women already were on the verge of

trait of an idyllic small-town and rural Middle West, where he saw the same virtues that Timothy Dwight had seen earlier in New England. And it was from that small-town Middle West, Edwin Meese pointed out, that Ronald Reagan derived his compelling vision of America.

By this point in the proceedings a disquieting undercurrent was beginning to emerge. The consensus was that America had once been a wonderful place and that the American culture had been strong enough to survive wars, constitutional amendments, technological revolutions, territorial expansion, and wave after wave of immigration—until some time in the recent past. But a concurrent consensus was developing: America had lost or was losing the qualities that had made it great, and whether those qualities could be regained was uncertain.

During the next session, this other consensus swelled to the surface. Arnold Beichman declared that "for a society to be at peace with itself, there must be a minimal set of values that a population reveres and is determined to protect." These values we no longer have.

Christian Kopff cast a wider net. He pointed out that American society, like Western Civilization itself, rests upon ideas coined during the fifth century B.C., when the Greeks invented history, science, and the concept of self-rule or citizenship. Those ways of looking at things are not "natural" to man; they must be taught and learned, generation by generation; and they are not being taught and learned today. Dependent as we are on science, we are not training our children in its fundamentals. Dependent as we are on citizenship, our government has made a conscious decision to purge its study from the curriculum.

Even more outrageous than our government's failures and refusals to pass along Western civilization are its choices of what it does promote. The meeting's most outspoken doomsayer, Thomas Landess, addressed himself to the doings of the National Endowment for the Arts. NEA grants are based upon two assumptions, both false and both pernicious. The first is that all art is equal and equally deserving of respect—the music, for example, "of Austria and New Guinea." That assumption derives from our fear to make judgments; we have become moral cowards, afraid to criticize lest we offend. Secondly, the NEA assumes that restrictions are bad for artists, who need absolute freedom. "Stuff and nonsense," said Landess: formal limits and strictures have always challenged the creative mind. For example, the social ban on obscenity forced Shakespeare to find infinitely richer expressions than, say, 2 Live Crew—as when Iago tells Brabantio, "your daughter and the Moor are making the beast with two backs." Our general failure of taste, Landess concluded, and our rejection of God to worship the false gods of absolute equality and absolute freedom have destroyed the *pietas* necessary to civilized behavior. When the barbarians come, as they always do upon the collapse of a civilization, they will find that we have already sacked ourselves.

At the Sunday breakfast session, immigration policy was at last explicitly the focus. Opinions ranged from that of Stephen Moore, who absolutely opposed any restrictions on immigration and declared that multiculturalism is not the choice of immigrants but of egghead elites, to that of Peter Brimelow, who stood by the powerful argument for immigration restriction that he made in NATIONAL REVIEW (June 22, 1992), declaring that only by restricting immigration sharply could we permit the last three decades' immigrants to assimilate—to become Americans.

Occupying the middle ground, Tom Fleming said he would concentrate less upon restriction than upon setting high qualifications for citizenship. He would deny any handouts to non-citizens and to those, such as criminals and congressmen, who do not contribute to society what citizens should contribute. Tim Ferguson, a longtime champion of open immigration, said his return to California from New York had sensitized him to the merits of restriction, but on balance he preferred strict qualifications for citizenship. Michael Vlahos expanded on Fleming's observation that when republics grow too large—as Rome did and as the United States has now done—they broaden and dilute their citizenship, which makes it easier for tyrants to rule.

O'Sullivan had remarked that the United States is "the sole remaining superpower, albeit seeking Chapter Eleven in Bosnia." This year's meeting made it clear that the same was true of citizenship and American character. Yet the observation could not apply to the Philadelphia Society, solvent both intellectually and (for the first time in memory) financially as well. —FORREST MCDONALD

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voluntarily lowering their fertility to the two-child average, which they now have maintained for more than two decades.

If the nation's demographic future had rested solely on the fertility decisions of American women since 1970, according to demographer Leon Bouvier, the population today would be around 230 million and headed very slowly to a peak of 247 million in 2030. Instead, it already stands at 260 million, headed rapidly to around 400 million in 2050, with no peak in sight. Hence the importance of another recommendation of the commission: that the government place an annual cap on immigration related to its contribution to demographic change. Through the years, immigration traditionalists have seen that cap as one that should allow a steady but small flow of immigrants—a level that can be easily assimilated into the American population without threatening its cohesion and sense of identity. At their roots, advocates of traditional levels of immigration have assumed that the American lifestyle, by and large, is a good one that should not be forcibly changed by federal immigration policies.

But the commission's vision of America's future was unveiled amidst the turmoil of Watergate, and Congress ignored the request for an immigration cap.

So America adopted a policy of almost open borders in a fit of absentmindedness. With what result? According to Leon Bouvier, post-1970 immigrants and their descendants are responsible for the majority of the growth since 1970 and will account for 90 per cent of the growth projected between now and 2050 if the policies aren't changed and the fertility rate stays constant.

But opposition has increased as immigration has risen. When legal immigration stood at 297,000 in 1965, Gallup found only 33 per cent of Americans wanting it reduced. By 1976, 52 per cent favored reductions. Last year, with legal immigration nearing a million, a *Newsweek* poll found 60 per cent of Americans thought immigration is a bad thing for their country. A CNN/*USA Today* poll found 65 per cent wanted immigration decreased generally, and 76 per cent said immigration should be stopped or reduced until the economy improves.

This hand-wringing about population changes seems a bit overwrought to defenders of immigration such as Phil Gramm and Jack Kemp. They see the traditionalists' America as a duller land, with a flat economy less able to compete globally. They favor the social and economic dynamism found in the midst of rapid population growth.

"Immigration helps America," Kemp said. "You don't come all the way from Africa or Asia if you aren't willing to take risks. They are entrepreneurial. Immigrants bring a lot of skills and a work ethic that in many places has become passé. There is just a lot of work that would not get done were it not for immigrant Americans taking jobs that a lot of people wouldn't take." Concern about a growing population is misplaced, Kemp says: "I find it unseemly of those on the Left and the Right who view America as a zero-sum game and that there's only so much to go around. When you take that to its conclusion, you end up with Bill Clinton and his world-population-control policies."

Gramm is likewise unimpressed with arguments that larger and more dense populations require more government intrusions: "I've never found a necessity to have a correlation between population and government." He said a continual review of immigration levels is advisable, but he believes the level of immigration and population growth in the last three decades has been good for America. "Not only is America a nation of immigrants, but new immigrants continue to build America and to expand its prosperity and freedom," he said. "We don't have room for people who want to live off the work of others. But I don't believe for a moment that new legal immigrants have been a burden to the economy. They have been a great boon."

A Gamut of Scenarios

IN PREPARATION for telephone interviews for this article, national Republican leaders were given questionnaires outlining various scenarios. Based on their responses, each was connected to one of six scenarios of America's future toward which his current stance would lead.* This is a snapshot of where they stand this summer only. As the debate progresses, their roles of leadership might shift.

Scenario 1: Status Quo Immigration

Total estimated immigration: 1.272 million per year (972,000 legal and 300,000 illegal) and rising
Additions to population by 2050: 145 to 160 million

This is the America that the Federal Government will in effect create if Congress does not lower legal limits or improve enforcement against illegal aliens.

Few Republican leaders at any level endorse a continuation of the present lax law enforcement and border control. (New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is a rare exception. Facing television cameras in June, the mayor said: "If you come here and you work hard and you happen to be in an undocumented status, you're one of the people who we want in this city.") But the fact that the media and the liberal establishment generally favor the immigration status quo may in part explain the failure of some Republicans to speak out against it.

Scenario 2: Status Quo, Minus Illegals

Total estimated legal immigration: 972,000 per year and rising

*Immigration numbers in these scenarios come from a recent report by the Center for Immigration Studies, written by Jack Martin. Estimates of additional population under each scenario are extrapolated from 1993 projections by the Census Bureau and recent projections by Leon Bouvier. Estimates are made in ranges because exact projections do not exist for every level of immigration.

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Backers: Gramm, Republican National Committee, Wilson

Tacit backers: Bennett, Cheney, Kemp, Quayle, Robertson, Weld

Related legislation: HR-3860 (Lamar Smith, R., Tex.), Illegal Immigration Control Act of 1994. *Co-sponsors:* 45 Republicans, 1 Democrat

Additions to population by 2050: 115 to 125 million

Pete Wilson is the most visible Republican backer of this scenario. In the words of the *National Journal*, the California governor has "almost single-handedly elevated immigration to the national stage" through his aggressive battle against the flow of illegal aliens. But he often praises the million immigrants a year who play by the rules and come legally. His aides say they never have heard him criticize legal-immigration levels. And, as we have seen, halting illegal immigration would do no more than impose the same hardships in four years rather than three.

Projections for this scenario—and the next three—assume that the long list of enforcement provisions in the various pieces of legislation would eliminate all illegal immigration. Most analysts consider the most wildly optimistic hope for such laws is that they would actually scale illegal numbers back to 50,000 to 100,000 a year. Thus, these scenarios probably underestimate the level of population growth.

Gramm and the Republican National Committee also have endorsed specific, tough anti-illegal measures similar to those contained in Smith's House bill.

On the other hand, Bennett, Cheney, Kemp, Quayle, Robertson, and Weld are only tacit backers of this scenario. They have said they oppose current numbers of illegal aliens but have not advocated a system of specific and bold actions that would significantly alter the numbers or that would take the chance of provoking the ire of civil-liberties and immigrant/ethnic organizations. All but Kemp of this group have abstained from endorsing the current level of legal immigration, but neither does any of them publicly oppose it. In effect, their absence from the debate is helping to move the nation toward Scenario 1.

Avoiding the issue offers some political benefits. "I don't think you're going to find Republican leaders wanting to be pinned down on immigration," one Republican congressional staffer said. "To stand against immigration is to confirm the worst things people think about Republicans"—that they are hard-hearted, narrow, and exclusive. But supporting high immigration might reinforce another charge often thrown at the party: that it ignores the public interest in favor of helping satisfy the appetites of businesses for low-wage labor. Thus far, doing nothing has had few drawbacks. Although the majority of Americans have told pollsters for 18 years that they want immigration reduced, they

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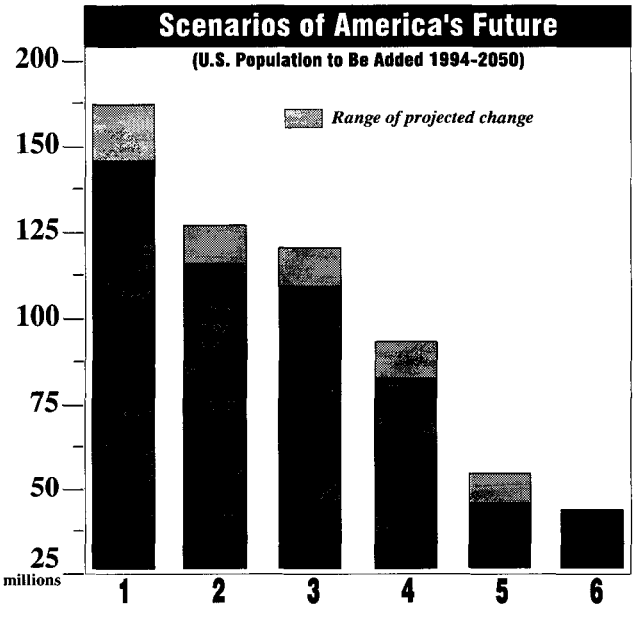
have not retaliated against their members of Congress when they have failed to respond.

Scenario 3: Temporary Reduction

Total estimated legal immigration: 580,000 for each of five years, 972,000 and rising thereafter
Backer: Dole
Related legislation: S-1884 (Simpson, R., Wyo.), Comprehensive Immigration and Asylum Reform Act of 1994. *Co-sponsors:* 13 Republicans, 1 Democrat
Additions to population by 2050: 110 to 120 million

Senator Alan Simpson carried the torch of leadership in tackling illegal immigration throughout the 1980s. He has never been comfortable, however, challenging the official demographic blueprint by reducing legal numbers. This year he made a modest proposal for reduction of legal immigration with a bill that is similar to Smith's in the House. Proponents of high levels of



immigration have little to fear from his proposal, however, which would leave legal admissions above the annual average of the turn-of-the-century Great Wave of Immigration (and double the 1965 level). And the cutback would last only five years. The America that would be created under this scenario would be very similar to the one under Scenario 2.

Dole, however, in co-sponsoring the bill, may be signifying potential leadership toward more significant reductions in immigration and population growth. Dole signed onto it as a step in the right direction toward dealing with a lot of social changes confronting the nation. He also took the initiative last year of assembling Republican senators in a meeting with a broad spectrum of experts to begin to put the two general blueprints for America's future on the table.

Scenario 4: Major Reduction

Total estimated legal immigration: 350,000 ceiling
Related legislation: HR-332 (Bilbray, D., Nev., and Hunter, R., Calif.), Immigration Stabilization Act of 1993; and S-1923 (Reid, D., Nev.), same title. *Co-sponsors:* 16 Republicans, 12 Democrats
Additions to population by 2050: 80 to 90 million

No national Republican leaders mentioned as presidential possibilities have supported this scenario. Interestingly, this bill has the support not only of conservative Republicans like Duncan Hunter of California and James Sensenbrenner Jr. of Wisconsin, but also of liberal Democrats like Tony Beilenson of California and Jim Moran of Virginia. Backers tout the fact that annual admissions would be near the traditional average before the accidental opening of the gates in 1965.

Scenario 5: Stabilizing Population By 2050

Total estimated legal immigration: 235,000 per year and declining
Backer: Buchanan
Related legislation: HR-3862 (Stump, R., Ariz.), Immigration Moratorium Act of 1994. *Co-sponsors:* 54 Republicans, 19 Democrats
Additions to population by 2050: 45 to 60 million; after which growth soon would cease

This would be an America with time to provide the infrastructure for its slowly growing population and perhaps even to improve the quality of life for all its residents. Our experience with a similar level of immigration between 1924 and 1965 suggests that, other things being equal, this also would be an America in which the sense of common American nationhood would be advanced by the assimilation of earlier and new immigrants, by the evolution of an enriched common culture, and by ethnic, racial, and religious intermarriage.

Although not ready to endorse every detail of Stump's bill—the most popular one in Congress at this time—Buchanan likes the numbers: "This country is ready to do it. If Republican leaders are frightened by political correctness from doing this, then it is a sign of what is endemic in the Republican Party; it won't touch an issue that somebody may say is evil and hard-hearted. If we don't start talking about it, somebody else will do it (such as a third-party movement like Ross Perot's) and the GOP will become irrelevant."

Supporters of this version of America say it hardly turns its back on America's immigration tradition since it would allow as many newcomers each year as came annually between 1820 and 1890, when the country had an open Western frontier to fill during its continental expansion.

Stump's bill specifies ceilings on various categories of entrants and would allow unlimited admissions of the minor children and spouses of immigrants once they became citizens. With drastically reduced numbers of new "seed" immigrants coming in, family admissions would

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decrease and total admissions would decline to perhaps below 100,000 by 2050.

"I've worked on the ground in some urban election campaigns," a Republican House staffer said. "There's a lot of passion about this issue. A Republican can pick up a lot of Reagan Democrats with this issue."

But others look at the potential for stirring up negatives, especially among critics who suggest that immigration reduction is motivated by a white majority's racial fears about having to turn over power to a "majority of minorities."

Stump, a plainspoken rancher, is unfazed by such charges. If cutting immigration were racist, he asks, why do polls show the majority of blacks and Hispanics favor reductions too? He admits, though, that many members of Congress fear the wrath of ethnic organizations that purport to represent minorites on the issues. He says, "My hometown is in my district. It is probably 80 per cent Mexican-American. They aren't mad at me. They want legal immigration reduced. I've gotten a lot of mail from across the nation. Only a couple have been negative."

Scenario 6: Zero Net Immigration

Total estimated legal immigration: Same number coming in as leave each year (currently around 160,000)
Additions to population by 2050: 40 million

Stump's number-cutting is not restrictive enough for many Americans. Some environmental advocates and organizations have urged limiting the number of immigrants each year to the number of permanent residents and citizens who permanently move from the United States to another country. At present, zero net immigration is estimated to allow around 100,000 newcomers annually. Nearly all of the 40-million population growth would be caused by births to the unprecedented numbers of immigrants who have arrived since 1970 and to their descendants.

Zero net immigration would not be low enough for a significant segment of Americans, though. Of the two-thirds of Americans who want legal immigration reduced, half of them want all immigration halted, according to a CBS News poll this year. It also found that more than 20 per cent of Americans want to send all immigrants who arrived during the last five years back to their home countries!

As popular sentiment hardens against Washington's blueprint for vast increases and changes in our population, national party leaders may find it increasingly difficult to stay on the sidelines. There will be strong pressure either to join Gramm and Kemp in trying to help the public understand the benefits of Washington's blueprint, or to join the immigration traditionalists in the House in trying to give the public the American future it says it wants. □

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Health-Care Scorecard

WAIT TILL NEXT YEAR?

Things have changed a lot since the GOP's early panic, when it seemed that government-run health care was inevitable. But a moderate fifth column could still cause trouble.

RICH LOWRY

IN May the Republican National Committee began running upbeat TV ads endorsing incremental health-care reforms like insurance portability. Every Republican sponsor of a health-care bill was asked to do one of the spots, and all agreed—except Rhode Island Senator John Chafee.

He should get used to feeling alone. The Republican Party has become so tough on health care that Chafee, the would-be grand compromiser, has seen his right flank disappear. Take Don Nickles, sponsor of a free-market-oriented reform plan generally considered immediately to the right of Chafee's bill. In early June, Nickles stripped his plan of its individual mandate, once a key provision for covering the uninsured, now a liability as Republicans have swung to opposing *any* mandates.

"The fissures within the Republican Party have gone from potentially 22 to 24 sponsoring Chafee to probably now less than 5," says one RNC official. "That's a massive change."

Chafee's bill still has 21 nominal co-sponsors, but most of them reject its essential provisions: the individual mandate, standard benefits package, and strict community rating. Says a staffer for one disaffected co-sponsor: "The Senator was hoping that Chafee would stick closer to what most Republicans would favor."

Increasingly, that means reforms of the existing insurance system. Minority Leader Bob Dole once worried about Republicans being left behind on health care. Now he warns that if the White House doesn't back off employer mandates and excessive government intervention, "I'm prepared to say, 'OK, let's have a referendum on this in 1994.'" In a bit of bravado, he predicts "probably 300 House members and 75 Republican senators" this fall if the GOP takes health care to the voters. In the meantime, he's plugging incremental reforms.

If they can't get sensible reforms, more and more Republicans are willing to take nothing at all. "We don't feel any need to be at a table where bad decisions are being made," says a spokesman for Newt Gingrich.

"I think the notion that no bill is better than a bad bill is gaining increasing ground," says Republican strategist Bill Kristol. "We need to start hammering the theme that we can't trust Congress to do it right in a rush. Therefore, let's put it off until next year, we'll pick up seats, and then we can pass some good reforms."

Health-Care Police?

HOW FAST is the GOP moving? Near the beginning of April, Representative John Kasich (under the influence of Tom Scully, formerly a Dick Darman aide, now an insurance-industry lobbyist) circulated a draft outline of a Chafee-like plan. It would have achieved universal coverage through an individual mandate, and included a cap on the deductibility of health benefits (in effect, a tax increase). Two months later, Kasich says he's not so sure about all this. Universal coverage? An individual mandate? "In order to guarantee universal coverage you'd have to have an individual mandate. If you have an individual mandate that means you have to have a bunch of health-care police traveling around the country forcing people to buy health insurance. I don't like that idea." Deductibility cap? "I'm not sure that that's a very good starter."

The GOP's rightward shift owes

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s associate articles editor.*

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more to reading the polls than to reading Hayek. The public has turned decisively against the Clinton plan, producing town-hall meetings that are skeptical and sometimes apoplectic. Swing-vote Democrat Max Baucus of Montana had people walking out on him at one recent home-state meeting.

A CNN/*USA Today* poll has 50 per cent of Americans opposed to the Clinton plan. Bill McInturff, the influential GOP pollster who drew grumbles from some conservatives for his moderate rhetoric early in the debate, now circulates numbers that are chilling for advocates of government-run health care: in California, where Clinton is relatively popular, twice as many people strongly oppose the plan as strongly favor it; half of Perot voters oppose it; a plurality of women aged 35 to 54, a key swing group, are in opposition; and 41 per cent of people say they're satisfied with the health-care system, up from 22 per cent two years ago. It's enough to put principle into the most wayward Republican.

Almost. About eight Senate Republicans, led by Chafee, are still candidates for a bail-out-the-Democrats compromise, no matter what the public wants. Even Democratic committee staffers admit that a big health-care bill this year inevitably would be bollixed, and they'd have to go back to fix it in 1995. But radical overhaul has inertial momentum in a Washington where policy sense matters less than politics; and the handful of Republican moderates in the Senate—almost all of whom are on key committees working on health care—may be willing to help make it go.

Nancy Kassebaum, the Kansas Republican who is ranking minority member on Ted Kennedy's Labor Committee, is one of them. Her ineffectual opposition to Kennedy's Clinton-plus bill—the first version of the Clinton bill to make it out of committee—had conservative Hill staffers cringing. The soft-spoken Senator Kassebaum would regularly offer amendments, then half an hour later withdraw them or modify them into meaninglessness. To answer objections, Mr. Kennedy could sometimes point out that the provision in question is also in Chafee, which Mrs. Kassebaum cosponsored.

Things could get worse in the Finance Committee, where Republican moderates are in a position to deal

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rather than merely oppose. The committee is considered the most likely to produce a viable compromise. All its GOP moderates—ranking minority member Bob Packwood, Chafee, David Durenberger, and John Danforth—have either invested years in pushing health-care reform, or made retirement plans that allow them to ignore public opinion, or both. It's a recipe for sell-out bi-partisanship.

But even among the moderates there has been stiffening. Packwood, a supporter of employer mandates, has made a commitment not to break GOP ranks to vote for them in the Clinton plan. He has stuck by it. It was his meeting at the White House with Moynihan and Clinton that produced the first concession from the President on mandates; Clinton would prefer a "hard trigger" (essentially a brief delay on the way to employer mandates), Packwood a more desirable, if convoluted, "fast-track soft trigger" (if a certain proportion of the population does not have insurance by a certain date Congress must take up again, on an expedited basis, the question of mandates). Durenberger, a true believer in managed competition, says that in a recent White House meeting of his own he told the President any compromise would have to be genuinely bi-partisan, meaning more than just five Republicans signing on.

The bad news is that a Chafee-led, handful-of Republicans compromise is still possible. The employer mandate is the financing linchpin of Clinton's plan, a hidden payroll tax to fund an enormous new entitlement; once it is scrapped—which is beginning to seem inevitable—Senator Moynihan's Finance Committee version of the Clinton bill looks a little like Chafee. Moynihan's version defines the uniform benefits package the same way Chafee does. And the Moynihan purchasing alliances strike a middle ground between Chafee and Clinton. But if the employer mandate is quashed, Chafee's individual mandate probably goes too, creating a financing problem

Shrinking Mental Health

"MENTAL Health May Be Stormiest Battle of Clinton Plan," read a headline on a November 5, 1993, story in the *Wall Street Journal*. And indeed it is becoming so. Led by Tipper Gore, the Mental Health Task Force proposed "parity" between mental-health problems and physical illnesses under Clinton's health reform. However, when the actuaries calculated the costs of "parity," they recognized it as a fiscal space odyssey and, appropriately, delayed its full implementation until 2001.

This induced outrage among many mental-health organizations. Former First Ladies Rosalynn Carter and Betty Ford were brought to Washington to defend parity, and the National Institute of Mental Health dusted off its studies demonstrating the widespread prevalence of mental disorders. Meanwhile, the American Association of Manufacturers was suggesting that the benefits be scaled back radically.

The main source of contention is that "mental health problems" include an extraordinary melange of conditions which can be categorized into four groups. The first group includes conditions such as schizophrenia, manic-depressive illness, severe recurrent depression, and obsessive-compulsive disorder. There is now strong evidence that conditions such as these are brain diseases in the same way as multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's, and Alzheimer's are. But the Clinton health proposal includes limits of sixty hospital days and thirty outpatient visits per year plus higher co-payments for the brain diseases of schizophrenia, et al., but no such limits for brain diseases such as multiple sclerosis, et al. The Clinton plan has thus established a hierarchy of brain diseases, claiming that some are more worthy of coverage than others.

If Clinton's proposal had established a similar hierarchy for heart diseases or liver diseases, there would be public and professional outrage. The additional costs of covering brain diseases such as schizophrenia at parity with other brain diseases would be modest, especially since considerable Medicaid and state mental-health funds are already being spent on them. The Equitable Health Care for Severe Mental Illnesses Act, introduced by Senator Pete Domenici (R., N.M.), proposes such coverage with no discrimination against any brain disease. Appropriate treatment for schizophrenia and manic-depressive illness would substantially reduce the number of mentally ill homeless persons on the streets and in jails.

The second group includes mental conditions that probably aren't brain diseases but are officially classified as mental disorders by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). This group includes addictions to alcohol or drugs, personality disorders, the condition previously called "neurosis," and other conditions ranging from "nicotine dependence" to "post-traumatic stress disorder" to "adjustment disorder with work inhibition." The official definitions of many such conditions are so broad and vague that almost anyone can be fitted into one condition or another.

Mental-health advocates have argued that this group should be included at full parity with physical illnesses (it isn't in the Clinton plan). Citing statistics from various studies, they even claim that such coverage would not be too expensive. But the credibility of these numbers is suspect: it was precisely such studies that predicted that Medicare would cost only $500 million—yet today it costs $150 billion. In fact, the National Comorbidity Survey, published in January 1994, reported that each year 30 per cent of all adults experience a psychiatric disorder. Multiply these 65 million people by their proposed annual eligibility for sixty hospital days and thirty outpatient visits, and the string of zeros stretches halfway around the Beltway and rapidly bankrupts the Treasury.

Many individuals in this group *are* unhappy and functioning at a lower level than they should. But there is no evidence that these conditions are

Dr. Torrey, a research psychiatrist, is the author of Freudian Fraud: The Malignant Effect of Freud's Theory on American Thought and Culture.

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for any Chafee-like bill, and nixing any meaningful talk of "universal coverage."

Furthermore, even *Democratic* support for any government-heavy plan has grown shaky. When California Senator Dianne Feinstein feels compelled to remove her name from the list of Clinton co-sponsors, it's clear that the White House has huge intra-party headaches. Not all Democrats are willing, like Senator Jay Rockefeller (D., W.Va.), to say: "We're going to push through health-care reform regardless of the views of the American people." After the losses in Oklahoma and Kentucky—Gingrich told potential donors that giving to the Republicans in those races was the best way to influence health care—any Democrat from the West or South knows that if he votes for government-heavy reform he risks getting ousted in the fall.

All this could mean a meltdown that opens the way for targeted insurance reforms along the lines of the bi-partisan Rowland–Bilirakis bill in the House. The only major health-care bill never mentioned by the *Washington Post* (though it has more sponsors than the headline-grabbing Cooper plan), Rowland–Bilirakis is not perfect. It lacks the "medi-save accounts"—essentially medical IRAs—that would close the deal against government-directed reform by making it easier for individuals to choose their own insurance. Its insurance regulations may also be too rigid. But Rowland–Bilirakis is acceptable to almost everyone. Efforts to gin up something similar in the Senate have so far failed, but as the legislative clock ticks away it could become an election-year stopgap. The problem for Clinton is that it would mean eating his universal-coverage veto pledge.

No matter. It's a sign of the weakness of the President's position that pollster Stanley Greenberg—one of the architects of the Clinton middle-class entitlement strategy that has health care as its centerpiece—now says Clin-

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brain diseases and no reason, therefore, to cover them under a health plan. Social services at the state or local level may elect to provide counseling for some of these individuals, but funding of such services should not be under a health budget.

A special word should be added concerning alcohol and drug abusers. Although it has become politically correct to say they have a mental illness, there is no evidence that they have a brain disease. There *is* evidence that they have a genetic predisposition to their addictions, but genetic predispositions are not diseases. There is also a volitional aspect to alcohol and drug addictions which distinguishes them from brain diseases—there is no addiction unless someone purchases and ingests or injects the addicting substance. The Clinton Administration could do more to combat alcohol and drug abuse by imposing conditions, such as sobriety and abstinence, on the more than 250,000 alcoholics and drug addicts who, according to the General Accounting Office, received $1.4 billion in cash payments from Social Security programs last year. Currently federal entitlement programs are *supporting* addicts.

The third group of "mental-health problems" includes problems inherent in the human condition and not officially classified as "mental disorders" by the APA. These include problems with interpersonal relationships, low self-esteem, and mid-life crises. In the past these problems were handled by having a talk with your hairdresser, bartender, clergyman, or friend, but now have been redefined as the result of co-dependency, victimhood, and dysfunctional families. In New York, Woody Allen has become a parody of his films after 33 years of psychotherapy. In Boston, Harvard psychoanalyst John Mack makes a career of treating individuals who have been "abducted" by "extra-terrestrials"—close encounters of the psychiatric kind.

OFFICIALLY such activities would not be covered by the Clinton proposal, but unofficially many of them would be. Mental-health professionals are remarkably creative in redefining problems to fit reimbursable diagnostic categories. Surely, an encounter with E.T. qualifies a person for having a "post-traumatic stress disorder." Almost all life's crises can be viewed for reimbursement purposes as "adjustment disorders," defined by the APA as "a maladaptive reaction to an identifiable psychosocial stressor, or stressors, that occurs within three months after onset of the stressor, and has persisted for no longer than six months." If coverage of the second group of "mental-health problems" does not bankrupt the nation, redefining the problems of the third group surely would.

Finally there is the fourth group of "mental-health problems." These are social conditions such as poverty, racism, and sexism which are said to cause psychiatric disorders. The "prevention" of "mental-health problems" through social engineering lies just beneath the surface of Clinton's proposals. Dr. Bryant Welch, former executive director of APA, argued that "you cannot treat an inner-city youth who has had multiple traumas" with only thirty outpatient visits per year. Therefore more visits should be covered. Rosalynn Carter, promoting "equitable mental-health benefits," recommended that the Clinton plan "promote mental-health practices as well as provide for prevention."

So, should the Mad Hatter's madness be covered under the Clinton health plan? The answer is yes, because the "madness" of nineteenth-century hatters was caused by poisoning from the mercury used in the process of making hats. The Mad Hatter therefore had a brain disease which should qualify him for coverage. The March Hare, on the other hand, was merely neurotic, while the Dormouse came from a dysfunctional family. Neither should be covered. Finally Alice, well meaning and intently desirous of helping others, would try to solve the social problems of the world and "prevent" mental problems if given an opportunity under a health plan. The Clinton Administration should simply return her résumé with a polite note of thanks.

—E. FULLER TORREY

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ton wins even with smaller-scale reform. Rowland–Bilirakis–Clinton? If Republicans hang tough, it's either that or Bob Dole's 75 Republican senators in the fall. Some Republicans are beginning to prefer the latter. □

The Next War

HOLLOWING OUT AMERICA'S DEFENSES

As President Clinton walked the Normandy beaches, did he think of the current state of our military?

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

IN THE LAST 12 months American airmen were actively engaged over Bosnia. Marines landed in Burundi. U.S. forces were winding down a long and difficult mission in Somalia. American servicemen lost their lives over Northern Iraq. For good measure, the liberal hawks in Congress are calling for a U.S. invasion of Haiti.

And all this may be just a warmup. Russian President Boris Yeltsin already has toughened his foreign policy to appease the nationalists and the armed forces. The bear retains its claws. The former Soviet ballistic-missile-firing submarine force remains alive—and growing. Russia is continuing to build submarines even as it seeks massive aid from the United States.

Elsewhere nuclear proliferation headaches continue to grow. North Korea is suspected of planning a substantial nuclear-weapons program. Its forces on the border with South Korea have been augmented and placed on heightened alert. A North Korean general has visited Iran, another rogue state with sizable military ambitions. And Iran has signaled its intentions in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea by negotiating for submarines.

In another ominous development, China is moving rapidly toward military superpower status. In April, the regime approved a 22 per cent increase in military spending. It plans to purchase Russian equipment more advanced than anything the Allies used in the Gulf War, including the T-800 gas turbine tank, a Patriot-type antimissile system, and a new rocket system. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* revealed last summer that more than 1,000 former Soviet military scientists are working for China. Its nuclear tests continue. Former U.S. ambassador James Lilley has said that this Chinese arms build-up has its sights set beyond China's borders—in other words, it's not defensive. Senator Larry Pressler says the new Chinese ballistic missile has a range of 7,400 miles and is a direct threat to the United States.

In short, everything that has happened on the world scene in the past year makes clear the need for the maintenance of American military might. Yet Clinton officials insist time and again that there is a peace dividend to be enjoyed. They're part of a liberal consensus that the strong defense structure created in the Reagan years can and should be scrapped.

The blueprint for the drawdown is the Clinton Administration's "Bottom-Up Review of Defense Needs and Programs" issued last September. Despite its title, the BUR is anything but a review of national-security threats and needs by service professionals. It is a top-down statement of the views of President Clinton and his political advisors. It is full of easy optimism. In citing "New Opportunities," then–Secretary of Defense Les Aspin didn't examine opportunities for strengthening national security but, instead, proposed that the U.S. "protect and advance our security with fewer resources, freeing excess resources to be invested in other areas vital to our prosperity." Instead of a security review, the BUR is a design for extracting a "peace dividend" from the hide of the nation's armed forces.

Senator John McCain, a member of the Armed Services Committee, sums up the new national-security situation succinctly: "We are going hollow. We are losing our ability to get there 'fustest with the mostest.'"

The areas where the United States faces serious deficiencies include maintenance of equipment in depots, manpower quality, manpower strength, and modernization of equipment. The Administration is failing to fund the upgrading of armor and artillery, fire support, mine warfare, long-range conventional-strike aircraft for the Navy, airlift for the Army, improved attack helicopters, improved munitions for the Air Force, improved conventional bomber and attack aircraft, and defenses against chemical and biological weapons.

Turning Their Backs

THESE needs are not addressed, or are muted, in the "Bottom-Up" Review. The purchase and deployment of new weapons is presented in a vague and uncertain manner. The need for new munitions is dismissed by an Administration that says existing munitions are adequate to the less ambitious tasks that are likely, a convenient sleight-of-hand.

Readiness is compromised by other Administration decisions such as using readiness funds to pay for humanitarian operations, which properly should come out of State Department or foreign-aid budgets. The services are deprived of almost $900 million in readiness funds in order to pay for global cooperation programs.

The readiness problems are innumerable. Here are a few:

Army. The U.S. Army Chief of Staff has said that "the Army is on the razor's edge of readiness." Manpower cuts are breaking up units and crews, and creating turbulence. Pay cuts are damaging morale. Funds for recruit-

Mr. Harrigan is a research fellow at the National Humanities Institute in Washington, D.C.

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ing have been cut. Funds for maintaining operational tempo have been slashed 21 per cent from 1985. Operations and maintenance expenditures have been slashed 36 per cent. Modernization funds have been reduced 50 per cent during the last five years.

Air Force. Funding for the Air Force—so important in Desert Storm—also has been slashed: 45 per cent for fighters and 41 per cent for bombers. It is unlikely that the Air Force will be given a new fighter until 2010. The U.S. has depended on the C-141 and C-5 transport planes for many years and desperately needs the new C-17. It will be provided, but in far smaller numbers than originally announced.

The Air Force has had its funds for exercises severely cut. Cuts also affect retention of personnel, maintenance, spare-parts availability, and other key readiness factors. Munitions are inadequate, and the Air Force has had to draw on war reserves.

Navy. The most revealing evidence of the Navy's "going hollow" is planned cuts in warships from 600 to 346, including a reduction in carrier strength from 15 to 12. But the Navy will continue to bear responsibilities from the Persian Gulf to the North Pacific and from the Adriatic to the Caribbean. And though the 346-ship level is the stated goal, the Navy has only enough money to maintain a 200-ship level. In addition, new weapons programs are grossly underfunded; the Navy will not have a replacement for its aging A-6 strike aircraft until 2010.

Critical problems exist in many specialized areas of naval operations. Mine warfare is a favorite tool of smaller naval powers, including rogue states, but the U.S. Navy has only 26 mine-warfare ships. The Navy's 40 amphibious vessels now in service, meanwhile, are to be replaced by 12 ships of the *LS* class. It is said that the amphibious-ship total will rise to 35 by 2008, but all sorts of Third World crises can materialize in the next 14 years. The Administration has also slashed the number of nuclear attack subs from roughly 80 to 40.

Marine Corps. The Marine Corps needs new helicopters to replace the aging machines now in service. Congress has authorized three combat-ready Marine Expeditionary Forces, but the Corps lacks the money to achieve this force level. The Marine Corps has had to use readiness funds to carry out humanitarian and peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Bangladesh. In the past year, the manning level of the Corps was reduced, but 9,000 more Marines were deployed overseas and for longer periods.

"Dad, can I borrow the Bradley Fighting Vehicle tonight?"

SDI level. If rogue states acquire nuclear weapons, the Strategic Defense Initiative unquestionably will be recognized as a strategic imperative. North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons surely will pose momentous questions for Japan. Will Japan decide to develop its own nuclear-weapons capability? Will it ask the United States to provide a ballistic-missile defense shield? But SDI has been drastically whittled away by the Clinton Administration.

Command Structure. As a result of defense "reform" legislation of the 1980s, the U.S. has moved toward a centralized, Prussian-style command system, which generations of American political leaders and military commanders strongly opposed. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been stripped of their traditional access to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs is now the sole military advisor to the President.

The folly of denying the Joint Chiefs their role as military advisors to the President was demonstrated in Somalia when U.S. servicemen were ambushed because they didn't have heavy armor. After the fact, President Clinton insisted the Joint Chiefs had been consulted. Later, he was proved wrong. They weren't because the JCS Chairman and the Secretary of Defense had no legal obligation to do so.

The first step is for Congress to restore the authority of the Joint Chiefs, bringing back the requirement that the White House consult them about military operations, and the right of the Chiefs to express their several views to the Commander-in-Chief. Lawmakers should also restore the Chiefs to operational control of their respective combat forces. Under such a system—the traditional system—operations such as the Somalia action would be under a task-force commander who would report to the Joint Chiefs.

The Joint Chiefs would be supported by a Joint Staff under their direction—undoubtedly a smaller Joint Staff than exists at present. When the Joint Staff was created in 1949, it was limited by law to 50 members. As of 1992, it was some 3,000 strong—and it reports directly to the Chairman of the JCS, not to the Joint Chiefs. Return of command authority to the service heads would eliminate the unnecessary layers of civilian officials who lack professional military experience. The presence of these civilian planners during Robert McNamara's reign at the Pentagon undoubtedly contributed to the U.S. failure in Vietnam, as they second-guessed experienced air and ground commanders.

Indeed, the McNamara heritage of interference with military commanders lives on. In Bosnia in April, U.S. airpower was used, as the phrase goes, to send a message. It didn't work, and understandably so. But U.S. planes chasing down symbolic targets of a tent or two evoked memories of McNamara risking American lives by sending U.S. aircraft after token targets, bypassing the militarily significant ones.

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In the course of restoring the services' separate command authorities, Congress should revoke the fatally flawed Jointness Doctrine and the Unified Command Plan that implements it. The Jointness Doctrine amalgamates military forces when cooperation would be more efficient; it blurs the vital distinctions between different forms of military power, and could even wind up placing an Army general over naval forces, an admiral over combat infantry. The Unified Command Plan, meanwhile, changed the old Atlantic Command, a naval command, beyond recognition. It now includes almost every serviceman in the United States, an impossibly large mission without clear roles for the respective service components.

Compounding these long-standing problems, the 1994 defense authorization bill not only cuts funding for national security, but also functions as a Christmas tree for non-defense projects. The Defense Department is forced to pay out $5.4 billion for environmental clean-up work around military bases. Some $979 million in aid to former Soviet republics came out of defense funds, as well as $20 million for women's health issues.

The Roman philosopher Seneca once said: "Our plans miscarry because we have no aim. When a man does not know what harbor he is making for, no wind is the right wind." Tragically, this is the case with the United States today. The American future is being dribbled and bumbled away in different parts of the world. Military forces are being deployed without a master plan of what the United States hopes to achieve. Replacement stocks of matériel are being drawn down without adequate replacement programs. Tinpot dictators and even regional warlords outfox the government of the United States and cause us to engage in expensive and bloody operations. This lack of planning could result in the United States being plunged into another major war—and without the forces to wage it. □

The Europeanization of America

THE REICH REICH

The Clinton crew has embraced the German model—just as the Germans have realized it doesn't work.

DAVID GITLITZ

IN THE 17 months since Bill Clinton took office, his Administration has demonstrated a faith in state-directed economic management that may be unprecedented in American history. From health-care reform and technology development to worker training and labor-market activism, the Clinton agenda calls for government action to address an array of purported social challenges. This may appear to be bold innovation. But there is a time-worn model for this approach: the Western European "social market."

"We Americans have a lot to learn from Europe," Clinton told a gathering in Brussels during his first presidential trip to Europe, in January. He was enthusiastic about European job-training and apprenticeship programs, and spoke glowingly of European-style health care, income protection, and industrial policies.

This affinity for the social-market model comes as the Europeans themselves are finally acknowledging the dismal results of over-generous social benefits, high and rising tax burdens, and inflexible labor markets. In fact, in early June Labor Secretary Robert Reich, the chief architect of the Europe-in-America approach, was on hand in Paris as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development sought to grapple with the continent's economic stagnation.

The OECD employment report could not have been music to Reich's ears. It takes dead aim at European obstacles to job creation and entrepreneurship.

This is not the first time the group has confronted the issue. In a little-noticed working paper last year, the OECD reported that the 12 countries of the European Community (now the European Union) have not experienced a net addition to private-sector employment in twenty years. The only job growth has come in government bureaucracies. High minimum wages are pricing young and unskilled workers out of the market, while generous safety-net policies are reducing incentives to seek work.

Unit labor costs have been rising faster among European economies than in other industrial countries for the past two decades. As of 1992, German unit labor costs were 20 per cent above American ones. Non-cash social-welfare benefits are the reason. Of the nearly $27 per hour in total compensation received by the average German factory worker, just less than half ($12.50) is non-wage compensation. Add in a business income tax whose top rate is nearly 60 per cent, and German enterprises pay about 37 per cent of payroll—split equally between employer and employees—to finance the country's generous safety net: health care, unemployment, sick pay, retirement pensions. Not only is this a disincentive to new hiring and business creation, it penalizes additional work effort.

Among the most controversial recommendations in the OECD's latest report are its calls for an overhaul of these benefit programs and labor-market provisions. The open-ended unemployment benefits amount to "quasi-permanent income support" and should be curbed. So should restrictions on employee layoffs. And high minimum wages "often end up damaging opportunities for unskilled labor." Establishing a lower rate for young workers would encourage hiring, the report said.

But Reich is intent on moving the opposite way. On a stopover in London en route to Paris, he rallied the Labour Party faithful with talk of his plans for a higher, indexed U.S. minimum wage. The OECD, Reich complained, was full of "a lot of loose talk about flexibility. Rarely has a term

Mr. Gitlitz is with Polyconomics, Inc.

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moved so rapidly from obscurity to meaninglessness without passing through an intervening period of coherence." Once ensconced in the City of Light, Reich talked of governments channeling money to such endeavors as ensuring that employees can change jobs or even careers without losing income.

"What we need in all countries is to make the labor market better by providing workers with greater job-search assistance, job counseling, information about labor markets, and training where necessary," Reich said. "And as a last resort, if they can't get any other form of employment, perhaps they can be given subsidized work."

Twin Technocrats

HE AND the technocrat responsible for Clinton's byzantine health-care reform proposal, Ira Magaziner, built their reputations advocating adoption of European-style welfare-state capitalism. Harvard lecturer Reich and management consultant Magaziner were co-authors of *Minding America's Business*, an early 1980s tract proposing a full-blown U.S. industrial policy. In the late 1980s Reich penned *The Power of Public Ideas*, in which he argues that the government should not allow the "preexisting selfish preferences" of individual citizens to take precedence over "what is good for society."

Clinton was so fond of Reich's 1991 opus, *The Work of Nations*, that before announcing his candidacy, he brought a well-thumbed copy of the book to a Reich-hosted seminar at Harvard. Bob Woodward writes in *The Agenda* that this work became the cornerstone of the Clinton campaign's domestic platform, and echoes of Reich's themes ring throughout the Administration's economic strategy.

Reich is scathing in his contempt for the incentive-based economic policies of the 1980s. He complains that rather than increasing taxes on the top fifth of the income scale, "the [Bush] Administration . . . has sought to reduce tax rates on appreciating capital assets. The apparent justification for lowering, rather than raising, federal taxes on wealthy investors (who own most of these capital assets) is that such a step would motivate them to invest their savings in new enterprise. Profit-seeking, resolutely self-inter-

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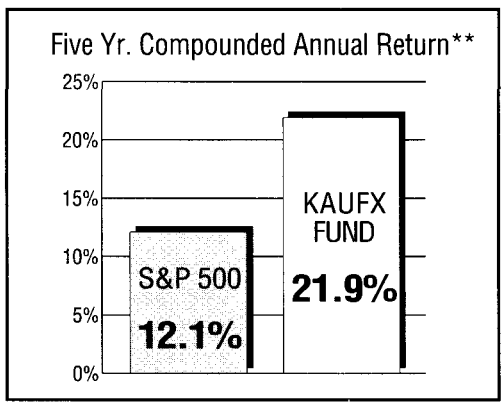

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ested individuals, it is assumed, will spur the American economy forward." As in the bureaucracies of Brussels, Paris, and Bonn, Reich's goal is income redistribution. Top marginal tax rates should be returned to their level under Jimmy Carter, Reich says, to allow a "significant down payment" on federal spending for education, training, infrastructure, and industrial subsidies, the heart of Reichian economics. But Reich would not stop there, and "would encourage public spending within each nation *in any manner* that enhanced the capacities of its citizens to lead full and productive lives [emphasis added]." He envisions an array of federal benefits to induce private enterprises to serve as handmaidens of the state. For companies doing well in international competition, he suggests "public subsidies to firms that undertook within the nation's borders high-value-added production." For companies doing poorly there would be "payments, relocation assistance, extra training grants, extra unemployment insurance, regional economic aid, and funds for retooling or upgrading machinery toward high-value-added production."

This, in sum, is a comprehensive agenda for twenty-first-century welfare-state corporatism, in which the middle class and the business class both become clients of the state. As in Europe, growth and competition from below would be blocked, with state-imposed mandates raising nearly insurmountable barriers to start-up companies and government paternalism dulling the drive for individual advancement. The capital that might otherwise be put at risk in new, job-creating enterprise is taxed away ostensibly to ensure income equality, and redistributed through the apparatus of bureaucratic "investment."

Clintonic Communitarianism

REICH does not specifically credit Europe as his model, but his prescriptions mesh nicely with the image of European "communitarian" capitalism offered by MIT professor Lester Thurow in his 1992 book, *Head to Head*. Thurow writes of subsidy programs "designed to help European firms compete in some major industry. If the United States were to spend what Germany spends (2.5 per cent of GNP), it would be spending more than $140 billion to help its industries in 1991. . . . Germany, the dominant European economic power, sees itself as having a '*social market*' economy and not just a market economy." In Germany, "Social-welfare policies are seen as a necessary part of a market economy. Unfettered capitalism is believed to generate levels of income inequality that are unacceptable."

Read from a distance of just two years, Thurow's Europhilia might seem laughable to anyone aware of the economic migraine most European nations are now enduring. It's no laughing matter, however, when senior Clinton officials continue to sing from the same hymnal. Reich and Magaziner aren't the only ones. Thurow, in fact, has a former student at the highest levels of Administration policymaking, Council of Economic Advisors Chairman Laura Tyson. The Tyson CEA's first annual report, released in February, reveals an Administration strategy founded on the same income-redistribution rationale as the European welfare state.

The CEA decried what it called a widening gap between rich and poor. It points to average incomes since 1973, with the most affluent growing by an average of 0.9 per cent annually, the poorest declining by 0.7 per cent. Instead of assessing how tax, regulatory, and monetary policies might have contributed to a decline across all income groups from the 2.5 to 3 per cent annual growth rate of the first decades after World War II, the CEA resorts to class envy: "This Administration sees the combination of stagnating average incomes and rising inequality as a threat to the social fabric that has long bound Americans together and made ours a society with minimal class distinctions." It attributes the income-growth disparity to technology-related demands for a better-trained workforce, decline of union membership, and a declining minimum wage. How convenient that these are all areas where the Administration is proposing an interventionist policy fix.

They all also happen to fall within Reich's bailiwick. A higher, inflation-adjusted minimum wage and greater union influence in the workplace are among his most cherished objectives. But his state-knows-best approach is seen most vividly in his advocacy of worker-training and apprenticeship programs, key features of the European "safety net." Reich claims that a

Has the U.S. economy already become Europeanized? Between 1986 and 1993, economic growth, wealth creation, capital formation, labor participation, families, and entrepreneurship have been under constant attack by policies that raised taxes, expanded social insurance, and mandated costly regulations.

This fiscal hall of shame includes: higher taxes on capital gains, personal income, corporate income, payrolls, Social Security benefits, gasoline, real estate, and trust estates; lengthening business depreciation schedules; elimination of deductions and exemptions; ending Gramm–Rudman sequestration.

Expensive regulatory mandates were legislated through new laws on civil rights, clean air and water, disabilities, and cable TV. A regulatory reign of terror on banks and other financial lenders denied credit to all areas of the economy for nearly three years. Virtually every budget rule, timetable, deficit target, and scoring convention has been broken.

Results? For over forty years following World War II, the U.S. economy expanded at a 3 per cent average annual rate, spanning eight recessions and recoveries. Over the past five years, however, the economy has slowed to a 1.7 per cent annual rate, the longest growth pause in postwar history. Even the current recovery cycle, now three years old, has produced only a 2.9 per cent annual growth rate, compared to a normal recovery rate of 4.5 per cent. Consequently, a large "performance gap" has opened up between actual growth and the historical U.S. trendline, cumulating to a $1.3-trillion loss of potential real output, 5.4 million lost jobs, and 1.6 million fewer new business start-ups over the past five years. If the U.S. had adopted pro-growth policies, rather than root-canal austerity, the budget deficit on a 3 per cent long-run growth path would be roughly $150 billion below what it is today.

—LAWRENCE KUDLOW

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A HEALTH CARE REFORM PROPOSAL

If the time has come for a federal health care program, why not pattern it after Social Security? It is far and away our most popular government program. To emphasize the similarity to Social Security we could even name the new program Medical Security.

Social Security is really a very simple program. Congress sets the amount of the old age pension and levies a payroll tax just sufficient to pay for the pensions. The Social Security Administration keeps the records and sends out the pension checks. I propose that Medical Security be handled the same way. Congress sets the medical benefit, levies a payroll tax to pay for it and the Social Security Administration sends a check to every Security already has the name, address and date of birth of most citizens.

Before considering the Medical Security program in more detail, let us reflect on what people want from health care reform. Many people in Washington think we want the government to manage our health care. What we really want is to divorce our medical care from our jobs and give all Americans access to complete medical care. These politicians have forgotten that Social Security does not spend our old age pensions. They simply mail the checks; and since our senior citizens paid the Social Security tax all their working lives, they do not think of their pensions as government charity. Under Medical Security we can do for medical care what Social Security has done for old age pensions.

Setting the amount of the Medical Security benefit is a political decision to be made by Congress. We can, however, make a reasonable estimate of the amount of the benefit. The cost of medical care is strongly dependent on age and the amount of the benefit. The cost of medical care is strongly dependent on age and th amount of the benefit would have to vary with age. For people over 65, we have firm data, since the 1995 budget allocates $152 billion for Medicare. This comes to $4200 for each person over 65. Younger people have lower medical costs but exactly how much lower is difficult to assess. One clue is that Tennessee pays $1300 per person to insure Medicaid patients with private insurance companies. I suggest that for our example we choose the more conservative estimate of $1700 per person under 65. This would result in a national average benefit of $2000 per person.

Based on this average cost of $2000 per person, the total cost of Medical Security would be $480 billion. Fortunately, we can start with the $242 billion in the 1995 budget for Medicare and Medicaid. These programs will be terminated with the beginning of Medical Security. The remaining $237 billion can be raised by increasing the payroll tax on employees from 7.65% to 11.4%. Employers will have an identical increase in their payroll tax. The net effect on labor cost will be an increase for employers who do not furnish a health care benefit. Those who do give health care will have a lower labor cost because health care can cost as much as 12% of payroll. It is clear that Medical Security will level the playing field for employers in the area of health care.

In summary, Medical Security will provide an annual check to every American on his birthday. The amount of the check will vary with age, but will average about $2000. This should be sufficient to purchase medical insurance coverage at least as complete as Medicare plus prescription drugs. The Social Security Administration will mail the benefit checks so no new government department will be needed for Medical Security.

The Medical Security program includes the things people want most from health care reform while it avoids the disadvantages that seem to be inherent in all socialized medicine programs.

1. It is universal. Every American will receive enough money to purchase first class medical care.

2. It is portable. Medical care will no longer be dependent on where we work or where we live.

3. It allows freedom of choice. Each individual can choose his doctor, hospital, pharmacist and insurance plan. Those who object to medical care on religious grounds will not be forced to pay for it.

4. It avoids the rationing and delay of medical care that are found in Canada and England.

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supply of highly skilled workers—trained in keeping with government dictates and at the expense of the private sector—will create jobs because of the needs of high-tech manufacturing operations.

In congressional testimony last year, Reich contrasted the U.S. labor-market approach to that of Europe: "We treat labor much like any other commodity. We allow employers to lay people off. We let wages rise or fall above a very minimal level of decency." He acknowledged that labor-market flexibility has given the United States strong employment growth. But his comments reflect a high level of ambivalence about the choice.

Reich has urged adoption of a 1.5 per cent employer-paid payroll tax to finance a national apprenticeship and training program. Thus, he seems convinced that more workers will be employed through government action that increases the costs of employment. The OECD, however, warned that "by taxing the use of labor, [payroll taxes] may thereby reduce employment and raise unemployment." It also sternly warns about the "poverty trap," where low-wage earners lose some or all of their benefits to taxes as earnings rise, and the "wedge" effect, where high taxes drive a wedge between the cost to employers of hiring a worker and the wage actually received by the worker.

There's More

ANOTHER Administration initiative would expand federal subsidies for the commercialization of industrial technology. The Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology is the locus of the Administration's "technology development" effort. Within the warrens of the NIST is a little-known duchy called the Advanced Technology Program. Until recently, it was a sleepy backwater funding small-scale research and development projects. Under Clinton's 1995 budget, however, its funding would more than double, to $450 million, and under legislation now pending in Congress, part of the National Competitiveness Act, the ATP would break new ground for U.S. government involvement in capital market decisions (the ATP would even purchase preferred stock offerings).

No rundown of the Clinton Administration's statist ambitions would be complete without mention of health care. Suffice it to say that in developing its proposal, the Administration adopted fundamental components of the German system, including the creation of monopoly "purchasing alliances." It also bears noting that the German health-care payroll tax, now at 13.4 per cent, was 11.4 per cent in 1980, 8.4 per cent in 1960, and 6 per cent in 1950.

Why does the Clinton Administration seem intent on following a blueprint for stagnation? Senior members of the Administration cannot be unaware of the drag on economic dynamism and growth of the European welfare state. Yet they seem undeterred. The only explanation is that it's a political calculation. The creation of new entitlements and subsidies for health care, training, employment, technology development, and infrastructure means an enormous extension of government largesse to the middle class, a "trickle down" social policy for the masses. Democratic political strategists make no bones about their conviction that such a payoff is necessary to re-establish the Democratic Party's electoral dominance.

The political bet is that the party's gains among the new clients of the security state will outweigh the losses resulting from the burdens on entrepreneurs and risk-takers—groups that are not considered Democratic constituencies in any event. The economic bet is that interventionist government can at least maintain stable, moderate economic growth rates, enough to keep unemployment from rising. The political calculation may be right as far as it goes, but it suffers from a pinched economic vision. For if, as the President says, "we have a lot to learn" from Europe, it is primarily that no amount of government can restore the spirit of enterprise when the heavy hand of bureaucracy snuffs it out. □

The Newark Syndrome

LET A HUNDRED CITIES BLOOM

What killed the American city? Herewith, a diagnosis, and a solution too sensible to be adopted.

PETER SHAW

WITH the exception of a few of the largest metropolitan centers, American cities no longer truly exist. Maps still locate them, airports take their names from them, some people even venture into them during daylight hours. But they have declined to the point where they represent little more than focal points around which suburbs are organized.

From a distance the former cities present a plausible appearance. Roads lead in and out. One sees houses and, in the center, office buildings, hotels, and government buildings. Take a closer look and the buildings reveal themselves as individual fortresses. If there is a downtown mall it is certain to be visitable for but a few hours each day.

To comprehend the death of the cities, visit them at night. Hotel guests are locked within separate bastions of safety. The remainder of the city is empty save for the occasional convenience store, gas station, lonely bar. The Other Side of Town is open and alive, to be sure. But that is a region less explored than the Hebrides or Patagonia. At 8 o'clock on a recent evening it was possible to drive across

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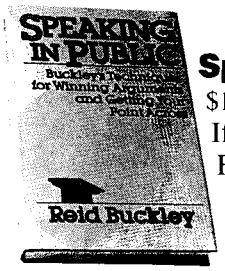

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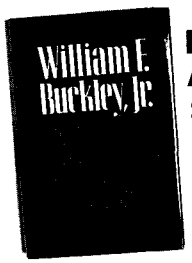

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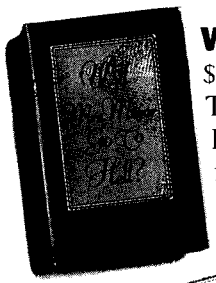

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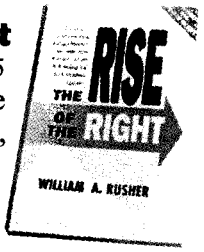

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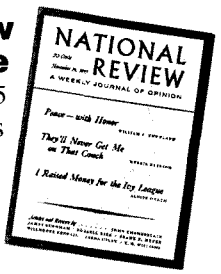

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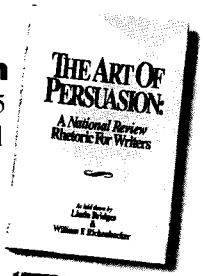

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the width of downtown Baton Rouge and see a total of four pedestrians. Together, they were entering a parking garage—yet another secured, forbidding facility of the kind that has replaced the mixed-use buildings found in a true city. The same lonely drive can be duplicated in Wilmington, Dallas, Newark—to name only those small-to-medium-sized cities recently surveyed by this observer.

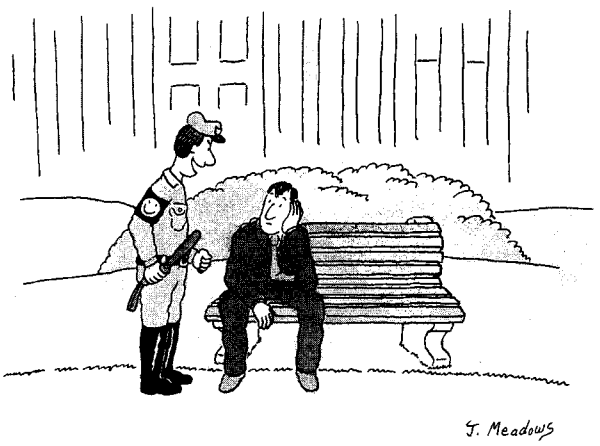
A downtown of deserted, mausoleum-like buildings, surrounded by black slums: this is the definition of most former cities of the United States. To contemplate what might be done about these forlorn places, it is necessary to understand who benefits from their present condition. Two groups stand out for their reluctance to see any changes. The first is those remaining in the inner city. They have accepted deteriorating living conditions in exchange for the lures of welfare. The law-abiding among them are obliged to live cheek by jowl with mentally disturbed and criminal elements once confined to asylums and jails. But all alike benefit from the Welfare system and continue to live in its vicinity.

The second group is the suburbanites driven out of the city by the same conditions. The suburbanites regard the city as a convenient catchment area for the people they moved away from. This is why, despite their economic conservatism, they support the welfare system. They hope that, together with free medical services and subsidized housing, welfare will keep the underclass away from them.

Suburbanites no longer miss the cultural features of a genuine city: the bustle of diverse businesses generated by the haphazard crowding of a true downtown; enhanced educational opportunities like the teaching of obscure languages in high-school districts with enough students and teachers to offer specialized courses; professional sports teams; enough people to support a genuine French restaurant. Instead, the downtown and suburban populations alike send their children to segregated schools where the cultural diversity that is no more is assiduously celebrated.

The compelling advantages of present arrangements ensure that nothing will change. This leaves us free to offer solutions in confidence that they will be entirely ignored. Not to say that the following solutions are offered in a spirit of frivolity. They rest on the proposition that downtown redevelopment and the concentration of dependency populations are the cities' twin blights. Dealing with them must come first, followed by initiatives encouraging the return of population and investment.

First, then, must come the elimination of bureaucratic practices that perpetuate the location of dependency populations in the city core. Therefore, foolish and destructive as they are, allow the continuance of welfare payments, housing subsidies, drug-abuse treatment, food stamps. But provide these somewhere truly convenient for the state—that is, somewhere chosen not because it keeps undesirable people away from suburbanites, but because it keeps them away from the law-abiding.



"Is that a frown on your face, buddy?"

The result would be to reduce the destructive and discouraging effects exerted by the cities' pathological populations. These effects removed, those left behind would come to resemble the viable poor populations of the past. Social pathology there always was in the slums, as well as crime and drugs. But none of these was on the scale made possible since the 1960s by government subsidy. Viable slums above all meant orderly behavior as the norm. If such behavior could have been maintained, American small and medium-sized cities need not have suffered their extinctions.

It is true that life can go on in an atmosphere of fear. But our society has also demonstrated that smaller cities do not survive in such an atmosphere. Clearly they stand no chance of being repopulated until fear has been banished. Yet to so much as refer to restored public safety is to run up against the syndrome in which our elites, racked with class and racial guilt, bereft of any conviction of legitimacy, deal with crime and violence by surrendering civic order.

How to Restore Order

HOW might law and order be restored? Easily. Yet it is a further comment on the ethos of the elites that the question, "How do we suppress crime?" needs to be asked. Time was that a decision to deal with crime would have been equivalent to a decision to clear the accumulated trash from along a city's curbs. One would not, after taking the decision, have gone on to detail how a street is swept. Today, one is obliged to explain how safety along the same street can be established.

Safe streets, then, are secured by trained agents of the state—policemen. These agents operate in a number of ways. Some display their uniformed presence in public places as a deterrent to crime and uncivil behavior. Others investigate crimes for the purpose of apprehending the perpetrators thereof. The latter activity tends to reduce crime in the short run and to deter it in the long run. After arrest, criminals come in contact with a functioning criminal-justice system as well as restraint and punishment centers called prisons. The key is maintaining each of the elements in working order. Police must deter and arrest, court systems try and sentence, prisons keep wrongdoers incarcerated.

In short, a decision has to be taken to enforce the law. At present, this is not even regarded as an option. Law enforcement has never been so much as suggested, for example, as a solution to the crime problem within a few square blocks in New York City's very center. After suffering decades of growing physical ugliness and violent crime, the city's authorities met to determine how Times Square might be restored to its former status as proud crossroads of the world.

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The area is the size of the downtown in a medium-sized city. Beggars, bands of undisciplined youths, pornographic theaters and bookstores, and an atmosphere of menace rule. Only those respectable citizens unlucky enough to have jobs in the neighborhood, along with tourists, enter during the day. At night theatergoers are forced to run its gauntlet of beggars, three-card-monte dealers, and ever-wandering youths.

Accordingly, the Times Square master plan was arrived at through ratiocination of the highest order. The area would be transformed by architecture. Office buildings and hotels would replace the so-called seedy old buildings that, in urban-planning parlance, were "breeding" crime. The planners and civic-minded businessmen who approved this scheme, in other words, proposed to spend hundreds of millions of dollars over more than a decade on a problem that could be solved in under six hours.

The six-hour solution was the only one that could not be mentioned in the undoubtedly edifying meetings that led to the architectural initiative. No one in attendance can have been unrespectable enough to say: "Let us send police into the area to close down pornography operations, set derelicts on their feet, arrest anyone harassing fellow citizens, and stand in uniform along thoroughfares as a warning against uncivil behavior." Such an operation, if begun at 3 P.M. on a given day, could be completed by 9 P.M., after which a reduced number of policemen would have to remain in sight to maintain the newly restored order.

Instead of this unthinkable approach, the Times Square renewal committee, armed with expensive studies and subsidies, began its alternative. Viable office buildings were emptied; a few cold fortresses were erected to stand empty until at least the second millennium of the birth of Christ. The plan remained on the books, but with the recession it died a natural death, bequeathing to the city not only empty new buildings but also emptied old ones and an accelerated decline of both Times Square and the American theater.

Smaller American cities have gone the same route. But what if they were to address public safety directly? How much policing would they need? At what cost? Let us just say that they would require enough policing to restore safety, and at a cost undoubtedly less than the sum of costs from crime, property destruction, and irrelevant social services. There was a time when one foot patrolman every ten blocks or so could keep public order. In the suburbs, where those who used to be looked after by that patrolman have fled, several miles are adequately patroled by a single radio car. At first, though, there might have to be a patrolman on every block and numerous radio cars cruising the downtown.

To the tortured question, "How can we send police into minority neighborhoods without appearing racist?" the answer is simple. Send the police where there is crime and danger, and give them but one directive: "Enforce the law." Residents will be delighted: surveys show that blacks and other minorities enthusiastically support heavy police presence and strict enforcement of the law. Only advanced thinkers will react negatively.

Though 'twill not be done, the mind can contemplate what would ensue if *'twere* done. Devalued real estate would become a magnet for entrepreneurs and people in search of housing bargains. The trapped hotel guests, anxious for diversion, could walk—and spend money—outside their fortresses. The black districts could attract paying visitors to ethnic stores, restaurants, and nightclubs. As the streets began to be peopled again, fewer policemen would be needed.

Next Step

MAKING the city safe would not be enough. To make the safe city attractive, something else would have to be done.

First, kill all the city planners. That is, to make the safe city an attractive investment, shopping, and recreation center, halt all city planning and remove building and zoning restrictions. Much would ensue. The first changes might well involve building over the city planners' beloved plazas. These cold regions amount to unused wastelands offering little reward for the long, dreary walk required to cross them. The same distance, when dense with buildings, is easily, comfortably covered on foot as one goes from store window to store window, pausing occasionally, crossing streets, and being entertained by the rest of humanity.

Thrown open to development, the plazas—those desert places of the planners—would likely be filled with stores, and with apartments above them. The lonely white-elephant buildings at the center of the present plazas would be given a lifeline to the world, a chance to prosper as the city moves back toward its natural look of filled street spaces.

In the meantime, something might be done about the planners' free-standing, multi-story parking garages—those forbidding structures erected where once the sweet cash registers sang. Some of the uses to which these structures might be put would particularly distress city planners. The new investors might slaughter chickens in them, or set up semi-open-air markets, or tennis courts. The result will seem chaotic. But the city would be moving another step back toward its natural condition of mixed use—and of mixed odors and mixed sounds as well.

The only foreseeable problem is that progressive thinkers, having initially disapproved the vulgar commercialization of the parking garages, will, as these are about to be sold at a profit by imaginative risk takers, make demands that their ethnic identity not be destroyed by greedy developers.

In residential sections let investors snap up undervalued homes and do whatever is necessary to make them competitive with the larger square footages and grounds in the suburbs. The investors can pair houses, adapting them for single-family living. Or let families combine three houses, renting out part of the space as apartments, subject only to health-code compliance.

Where planning was, there let innovation thrive; where fear was, there let safety reign.

On second thought, don't kill all the city planners. Make them into committees to review renovation and building plans. Whatever they disapprove, rush to support. Whatever they approve, scrutinize closely. Also set up a crime-control board made up of neighborhood activists, sociology professors, enlightened politicians, and representatives of the ACLU. Whatever this group disapproves, instantly establish as policy. Whatever it recommends, table until the city has revived . . . and it is time to begin the next cycle of decline. □

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

June 20, 1994

Dear Rusty,

It's been too long! I've told you-know-who to insist that you plan a nice long visit with us one of these days, but I wanted to do it myself, in person, and since I'm on you-know-who's PowerBook right now—mine's temporarily unavailable (Karenna; term paper)—I thought to myself: "Tip, it's now or never."

I'll get right to it, Rusty: I need some help. Months and months ago, I spent about 16 hours on what we in the District call "deep background" with a certain reporter from a certain Washington newspaper who was writing . . . oh, why am I being so coy? Rusty, I talked to Bob Woodward while he was writing The Agenda. A lot. More than 16 hours, if you want the truth. I wasn't supposed to, but in the interests of history and truth I felt it was my duty to let the American people know that Al had nothing to do with this slipshod, disorganized, amateurish Administration. I hope I succeeded in clearing up the record. Especially about my good friend Hillary Rodham Clinton.

A lot of that stuff was mine. I think you were on my "comp" list, so you must have read it by now.

Al isn't crazy about the book, to be honest, which is silly because he comes off very well in it: fighting for his environmental legislation (pp. 256-257); hiring David Gergen (p. 208); participating in every high-level Oval Office meeting (p. 124, p. 151, et al.); and especially telling Bill Clinton to "get with the goddam program!" (p. 281, emphasis mine). Don't bother flipping through the book to those pages—I'm sending out condensed reprints as soon as Al goes on his trip to Mexico.

I cleaned out our Christmas Club account (yikes! you-know-who's going to blow a gasket when he finds out!) to pay our pollster, Stan Greenberg. I had asked him to discreetly assemble some of Al's new numbers, post-Woodward-book, and believe me, it was very much worth the $20,000. Here's the good news: Al trounces Dole head to head, he's even with Colin Powell (they wish!), Quayle isn't even on the map, and Kemp—who? Here's the other news: Al beats Bill 65% to 23%. Al's negatives are a steady 27%. Bill's are somewhere between 48% and 90%.

Do you see where I'm going with this?

I'm sure Simon & Schuster will be interested in a follow-up to The Agenda—you know, an "insider's account" sort of thing. My plan is to write it over the next year when Al's asleep or at the office or traveling, publish it in, oh, I don't know, sometime around the California primary, and wait for the "big mo," as they say. Title: Get with the Program.

Here's where I need your help.

I was thinking that from the relative peace and solitude of your river camp on the Amazon, you might like to pitch in with the project—you know, sort of stitch together the vignettes, check the spelling, do a little general polish, that sort of thing.

Here's a sample:

Gore strode into the Oval Office, his lanky frame (is "lanky" right? how about "leonine"?) towering over the comparatively puny Warren Christopher, who shrank back in fear at his approach. "Out of my way!" barked Gore—eyes ablaze with leadership qualities—and the sniveling (sniveling? compromising? appeasing? Help, Rusty!) Christopher hid his eyes. "Mr. President," Gore intoned, the full richness of his pleasing basso profundo echoing out into the hallway, instantly putting the secretaries and the Secret Service personnel at ease, "we have to show leadership! We have to show resolve! Jimmy Carter should not—and will not—dictate our policy toward North Korea! Now get with the goddam program!" Clinton looked up fearfully from his Penthouse. He had never met a man like Gore. So fearless. So . . . presidential. Well, once he had, long ago. He had shaken hands with him in the Rose Garden, in fact, when he was a young lad. Gore strode out of the office, brushing by George Stephanopoulos, who was standing in front of the mirror, arranging the dimple on his necktie knot. (Rusty: should Al slap Steph. in the face and say "Get with the program!"?).

"Why, countries are a little like this sparrow," Gore said quietly to his son, Al Jr., as they knelt in a grove of new-growth evergreens. Chipmunks and squirrels and rabbits and all the inhabitants of the small wooded ecosystem gathered around the two men, one young, the other youthful but wise, as the older Gore firmly but tenderly taped up the tiny sparrow's broken wing. The sparrow looked up at Gore gratefully, as if to say, "Thank you. Were I a delegate to the 1996 Democratic National Convention, I would know how to repay you." (Rusty: Too much? It really happened that way, I promise. But would it be more of a call-to-arms if the sparrow died?)

Please help. You-know-whose Council of Environmental Advisors is going to need a Chairman.

I'm counting on you!

Love, Tipper

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Robbery in Progress

MARY LEFKOWITZ

TWENTY-FIVE years ago women who wanted to become academics had to overcome the hostility and disbelief of men. In my field (Classics), the Enemy consisted mainly of sympathetic male professors who were willing to encourage female graduate students, but only to the point of getting a degree. When I got my PhD, my thesis advisor asked me why I didn't settle down and have children (I should add that I was already married). He meant this advice kindly, but of course I understood it as a veiled suggestion that my work wasn't really good enough to remain in the field. Fortunately the women professors I had worked with in my undergraduate years at Wellesley had a different opinion, and I listened to *them*. To me, feminism meant equal opportunity, equal pay for equal work, recognition that a woman could do a job as well as a man.

But now "equity feminists" like me have themselves become the Enemy of other feminists who reject the values that we fought for. These women disparage the methods and content of traditional scholarship, arguing that it "privileges" works by propertied European males. They also criticize approaches employed in these works, such as logic and deductive reasoning. Instead, the new feminists advocate alternative ways of understanding or looking at the world, such as intuition. They suggest that if these other methods were used, students and eventually all of us would perceive a different and potentially better kind of reality.

Who Stole Feminism? How Women Have Betrayed Women, by Christina Hoff Sommers (Simon & Schuster, 320 pp., $23)

As Christina Hoff Sommers observes in her new book, *Who Stole Feminism?*, the women academics who advocate these views do not seem to have noticed that their notions about women's otherness are virtually the same as those that were used for centuries by men to keep women in their "place." By emphasizing the differences between the genders (in thought processes, if in no other ways), those "gender feminists" are unwittingly setting in motion a process that will keep women from becoming the leading thinkers and scientists in our society.

Roman Genn

If the gender feminists were concerned only with the education of women, there would be adequate reason to complain. But in fact their views are being widely adopted, not just by other gender feminists but by academics generally. If they set the agenda, everyone will be affected. The gender feminists want to change the very meaning of education for all students, male and female. Rather than be taught how to evaluate evidence and describe it objectively, students are to be instructed in the ills of society, such as the oppression of women and minority groups. Students cannot be left to decide for themselves whether or not to bring about some improvement—indeed, without the tools of analytic reasoning and logic it will become increasingly difficult for them to do so. Instead, students will use their time at universities to blame and to punish the groups responsible for the inequities described in their courses of study.

The trouble with this scenario is that it is no longer hypothetical, at least for some students, at some universities, some of the time. Hence this excellent new book, which everyone interested in the subject ought to read, even if he is prepared to dislike it. Mrs. Sommers describes what is going on, and suggests why it ought to stop. Her mode of discourse is argument and persuasion, not violence or revolution. She asks hard questions and examines the evidence. The basic issues were described some time ago by (dare we admit it?) Socrates: Can virtue be taught? What is virtue? How can we know it? In joining battle with the gender feminists, Mrs. Sommers puts her old-fashioned training as a philosopher to good use. (She is a professor of philosophy at Clark University.) She was taught to think for herself, rather than simply to accept what she is told.

The book begins with a description of a convention that featured speeches by leading feminists about "ouch" experiences stemming from racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, lookism. The audience was encouraged to return from a coffee break by a woman holding teddy-bear and dog puppets: "Teddy and his friend say it's time to go back inside." It's easy to laugh at such silly infantilizing of women, and to assume that this conference represents an extreme swing of the feminist pendulum. One almost sympathizes with the feminist philosopher who said she felt "uncomfortable" because she knew what Mrs. Sommers would think and write about all this.

Missing from this conference, and others that Mrs. Sommers attended in the course of writing this book, is the sense of give-and-take most academics

Miss Lefkowitz, Andrew M. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Wellesley College, is the author of Women in Greek Myth *and co-editor of the sourcebook* Women's Life in Greece and Rome.

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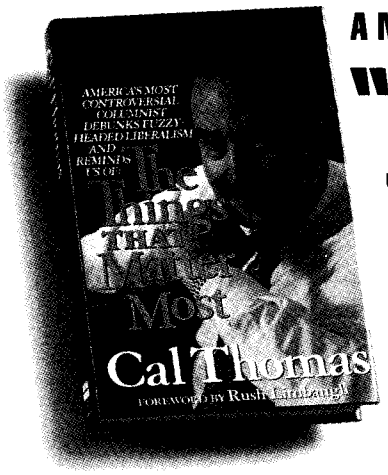
BROKEN HOMES
YOUTH VIOLENCE
NO PRAYER IN SCHOOLS
BIG GOVERNMENT
DRUG ABUSE
LIBERAL MEDIA
TEENAGE PREGNANCY
AIDS EPIDEMIC


AMERICA'S MOST CONTROVERSIAL COLUMNIST DEBUNKS FUZZY-HEADED LIBERALISM AND REMINDS US OF
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are used to from conventional academic gatherings, where respondents criticize papers, rather than applaud them, and serious questions, sometimes quite hostile, are raised by members of the audience. As Mrs. Sommers observes, "gender feminists do not relish criticism." That made me realize that a conference I attended years ago was not unique: the principal speaker at one session, the feminist historian Gerda Lerner, was offended that I had been chosen by the organizing committee to comment on her paper. She had wanted to pick her own respondents.

Incidents like these make it fairly clear that gender feminism is a kind of mystery religion that excludes outsiders and accords to its initiates a most-favored status, at least so long as they stick to the rules and do not ask too many questions about the belief system that they have adopted. And like so many other strange cults it is peculiarly American: at a conference in 1991 at New York University, Russian women novelists shocked their host(esse)s by seeking to separate literature from politics, including gender politics. They had had quite enough of politicized art in the Soviet Union.

But the credulity practiced by members of the cult is, alas, matched by other educators, and to some extent by reporters eager for interesting and provocative stories. The Anita Hill controversy showed that there was considerable confusion in the minds both of legislators and of the public about what was meant by the term sexual harassment. Some administrators appear not to have considered even the possibility of ambiguity: a touch, or even a look, can be considered a crime, and a male, by definition, can be considered guilty until he is proven innocent, simply because he has the capacity to impose his will on a female. Mrs. Sommers relates some vivid examples of such metaphorical distortion, where obnoxious teasing of girls by boys, which virtually all women with brothers have experienced, can be described as "gender terrorism."

Since the use of such rhetoric has proved to be particularly effective, gender feminists pay close attention to words: terms such as "mastery" and "penetrating" are no longer considered kosher in the academy, be-

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cause of their phallocentric overtones. (One scholar even went so far as to refer to what everyone else calls a seminar as an "ovular.") Instead there is emphasis on experiences that are peculiar to females, such as menstrual cramps, birth pangs, nursing. "What wisdom can there be in menses?" asks Gerda Lerner. If *mutatis mutandis* some man asked such a question about semen, would anyone, male or female, take him seriously?

The type of incident that I have been describing so far (and Mrs. Sommers gives many more examples) can be and probably should be forgiven as the result of excessive zeal. But it is more difficult to excuse the kind of "research" that has been conducted under gender-feminist auspices, and/or interpreted by scholars who share their goals and ideals. If Mrs. Sommers is correct (and she supplies detailed documentation), many of the most touted findings about gender relations are based on faulty interpretation of sometimes faulty data. In addition, the gender-feminist researchers seem to be guided by the (unproven and probably unprovable) theories of Michel Foucault, who believed that individual thinking is largely shaped by the larger community.

As a result of a study sponsored by the AAUW (American Association of University Women), researchers claim that the self-esteem of young girls plummets in elementary school, while that of boys rises. These findings were widely reported in the media. But the data, when examined carefully, could provide other, and indeed conflicting interpretations. Why is it that no one asked why the group with the lowest self-esteem (girls) got higher grades than groups that expressed greater self-satisfaction? Carol Gilligan, in an influential book, suggests that women think differently from men about moral issues, but independent research does not confirm her theory, because young women and young men tend to think alike on such major problems. This last finding is particularly interesting, because it suggests that women, if they were to take over the powers now in the hands of the "patriarchy," would not manage to bring about much improvement in the world order.

Another piece of questionable research emanates from a study conducted by the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, which claimed that schools regularly shortchange girls. Girls do seem to be slightly behind in math and science; but (Mrs. Sommers argues) the study does not consider other factors, such as the much higher dropout rate for boys. Taken as a whole, the evidence suggests that it is in fact the boys who suffer an overall academic deficit, and that even in math the girls are now catching up. Nonetheless, the report asserts that girls do not find themselves to be represented in the national curriculum, and suggests that more attention be given to the female's lateral (as opposed to the male's vertical) modes of thinking—as if these highly simplistic categories were supported by any hard data. If pursued to their logical extreme (and one hopes that they will not be), such recommendations would encourage girls to avoid training in analysis and argument, a process that would lead them right back to where they were before women were allowed to have a higher education in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Mrs. Sommers catalogues many other notable non-findings. There is for instance the notion (also sponsored by the Wellesley Center) that adolescent girls are routinely sexually harassed (based on a 0.2 per cent response of those surveyed); a more scientifically conducted Harris survey found that a majority of boys as well as girls reported that they had been harassed. The justifiable conclusion seems to be that schools in general are uncivil and even violent places.

Drawing unwarranted conclusions from the evidence is of course a practice common to researchers of both sexes and all nationalities, and by no means the exclusive prerogative of gender feminists. But in fairness, one ought to point out that certain of the gender feminists' beliefs tend to encourage foregone conclusions. If there is no evidence that women played an important role in most periods of ancient (and, to be fair, modern) history, that lack of evidence can be dismissed as the natural result of the suppression of women. The researcher is then free to supply what women would have said, possibly from one of her peculiarly feminine sources of wisdom. If one objects that when women in the past (such as Sappho) did manage to speak up and have their words recorded, they did not protest their lot in ways thought acceptable to modern women, the feminist researcher can again argue that because they were oppressed, they did not know any better.

Because she challenges these beliefs, Christina Sommers is certain to draw considerable flak from the feminists she sets out to criticize. That is, if they bother to read her book, and do not simply complain that it is a product of male bias or right-wing opportunism. Such refusal to debate the issues is perhaps the most depressing aspect of the gender-feminist movement. Perhaps the danger is less great than Mrs. Sommers suggests, and one wishes that she had enjoyed the absurdities more than she seems to have done, but there can be no doubt about her courage, her incisiveness, and the clarity of her argument. She provides clear guidelines on how to distinguish indoctrination from education. That alone is a major service to all of us who are struggling to distinguish fact from fiction in today's troubled academic world. □

Basic Instinct

MAGGIE GALLAGHER

TOPPLING ICONS is Arianna Huffington's specialty. After lopping off feminism in *The Female Woman* and cutting Picasso down to size in *Picasso: Creator and Destroyer*, the celebrated Mrs. Huffington once again goes with great gusto where angels might fear to tread: into the very heart of the greatest of human mysteries, the mystery of the soul.

What's left after the secular gods of sex and art have been cast down from their artificial pre-eminence? God, of course, Mrs. Huffington tells us. He's been waiting for us all along. Waiting for us to recognize that art, science, sex, politics, and philosophy are all

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threads leading us to His and our home: the realm of the divine.

One's experience of God is uniquely personal, therefore extraordinarily difficult to communicate. In consequence, great mystics tend to speak in paradoxes, more ordinary mortals in clichés. Unsurprisingly perhaps, given the scope of the book's ambition, Mrs. Huffington proves herself in this regard a mere mortal.

The Fourth Instinct: The Call of the Soul, by Arianna Huffington (Simon & Schuster, 288 pp., $22)

We stand, she tells us, at a unique moment:

> In the whole of human history there have never been so many avenues to inner consciousness being explored, nor anything remotely approaching the proportion of people seeking such avenues for themselves . . . everything from explorations into the great religious traditions, to Rolfing, rebirthing, and past-life regressions. I have personally sampled a substantial variety of what is available—including fire-walking.

And she has emerged from the fire with Good News: "The more I delved into the esoteric, the mystical depths of religious scripture, whether the Kabbalah, Lao-Tzu, or the Gospel of Saint John the Beloved, the more inescapable became the conclusion that the truth is one and glorious in its simplicity: 'The Kingdom of God is within.' "

In Mrs. Huffington's view, a thousand points of light are about to blossom into a hundred million, as we enter a new millennium—as altruism replaces narcissism, and spirituality supplants materialism, all courtesy of what she calls the Fourth Instinct. What is the Fourth Instinct? It is "a genetically based, physical instinct that has a metaphysical purpose . . . Genesis is unfolding in the evolutionary epic, and the Fourth Instinct is the driving force."

This is a strange and unsatisfying formulation which the author never explores. Why, for example, call man's desire for "meaning, transcendence, wholeness, and truth" an "instinct"? Why drape, like a fervent Victorian, the religious impulse in the language of Darwinian biology? "'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness,' says God in Genesis. And let man evolve, first unconsciously, then consciously, into his God-like nature, says evolution." Thus saith Mrs. Huffington.

Actually, evolution doesn't say much at all. But Mrs. Huffington seems to take intellectual comfort in construing the spiritual impulse as a biological one, an idea that suggests that men strive for God as reliably and immutably as bees make honey. But while all living animals lust for food and sex, only men lust for God. Those of us who consider religion the realm of freedom par excellence will find her choice of rhetorical strategies unusual to say the least.

The Fourth Instinct is an odd book, part introspection, part exhortation—an honest attempt by a gifted writer to find in her own spiritual journey the universal quest for God. Its chief charm is also its greatest flaw: the book is infused with millenarianism of the distinctively American, upbeat, rosy-cheeked, every-day-in-every-way-we-are-getting-better-and-better sort. The resulting combination of American optimism, pro-family concern, and spiritual questing amounts to practically a new genre: inspirational literature for New Age conservative pantheists: "It is the premise of this book that we are facing such a door in time—an opening for great possibilities of new being, for a breakthrough in our evolution. For the first time, something as vast and epic as the destiny of mankind depends on something as personal and intimate as the way each one of us chooses to live, think, and behave."

For many readers, such claims for the uniqueness of this generation in history over all others will seem overblown, hard to digest, and perhaps just another symptom of the Seventies narcissism Mrs. Huffington explicitly rejects—although the interest in things spiritual she demonstrates and the questions she raises are highly salutary in this age in which religion tends to be viewed by intellectual elites as a kind of poison in the body politic.

For Mrs. Huffington, all religious truths point to the same truth: "There is, however, a fundamental difference between today and other historic times of spiritual renewal. Ours does not revolve around any one concept of God or require that we believe in any one set of dogmas, any one doctrine, any one recipe for redemption." Well maybe. But then again, maybe not. Perhaps God—and Mrs. Huffington never seems to have faced this frightening possibility—actually cares how we envision Him, worship Him, and regulate our lives in His service. Perhaps in religion, as in everything else, it's possible to get it wrong. □

Miss Gallagher is a columnist for New York Newsday *and the author of* Enemies of Eros.

The Sage of Newsday

JOHN CORRY

MURRAY Kempton seldom writes about himself, and he does not often appear on television. Self-effacement is rare among prominent journalists in the media age, but Mr. Kempton has the decency to stay more or less private. This is not to say, however, that he is modest. In *Rebellions, Perversities, and Main Events*, 570 pages of his collected works, he passes judgment on large and small matters with all the assurance and much the same magisterial tone associated with papal encyclicals or columns by the late Arthur Krock. The redemptive factor is that the literary merit of his work extends far beyond either.

Mr. Kempton, of course, is a man of the Left; he is also a New Yorker, and no matter where he has roamed in some fifty years of journalism, he has never strayed far from the one or the other. Most of his work has appeared

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in the *New York Post*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic*, and *New York Newsday* (where he is currently a columnist), and his political sensibility runs throughout this collection, even if not always in the ways you expect. Mr. Kempton, for example, writes fondly about Westbrook Pegler, and at his death is genuinely grieved, although Pegler's last

Rebellions, Perversities, and Main Events, by Murray Kempton (Times Books, 570 pp., $27.50)

employer was the Birch Society, which was hardly a leftist bastion. Mr. Kempton, though, admired "Peg" because he worked hard, took risks, and, above all, always despised his bosses. "Here is one of the few American workingmen," Mr. Kempton wrote in 1963, "who has heroically and stubbornly struggled to remain class-conscious."

Perhaps only Murray Kempton could connect Pegler with Marx, and surely no one else on the Left would even want to; but Mr. Kempton is not doctrinaire, and while he can be exceedingly peevish, he has never been much of a hater. In fact, he says, the only thing he has ever truly hated is *Time* magazine. "My hatred of *Time* is my one unbridled lust," he wrote in 1966, and went on to declare that "if I were conscripted to execute the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, I would trust myself to do the job with solemnity and sorrow, yet I would machine-gun the entire board of editors of *Time* in a fit of laughter." He does not say why, exactly, he felt that way, although it seems to have had something to do with what he saw as *Time*'s lack of integrity.

Mr. Kempton does not take the press seriously, but he insists that journalism is a high calling, and he is contemptuous of those who debase it. Pegler would have agreed, but there most likely he and Mr. Kempton would have parted. Mr. Kempton also says Gore Vidal has written fine journalism, and that Mary McCarthy's *Viet Nam* was an "intelligent" book. Mr. Vidal's journalism, however, is journalism only by sufferance, and *Viet Nam* was so moonstruck it embarrassed even the Vietnamese. But you will forgive Mr. Kempton for an infrequent howler. His erudition is considerable and his passion real, and it is impossible to read anything he writes without realizing how hard he must have worked when he wrote it.

You imagine him sitting at a typewriter—he must be too cranky to use a word processor—with blood running into his shoes. For Mr. Kempton's style is famous. His long flowing sentences double back on themselves, and then head off in other directions. (Once in a while, they disappear.) They are rich in their use of irony, and in their midst are verbs such as "levanting," "rabbling," and "paltering." He is not showing off, or at least not very much. It is apparent he loves language, and does not want old words to die, even if this means he must then become one of the few writers around who will use them.

But the style is based on more than an artful use of language. Mr. Kemp-

Mr. Corry, a former TV critic for the New York Times, *is the author of* My Times: Adventures in the News Trade.

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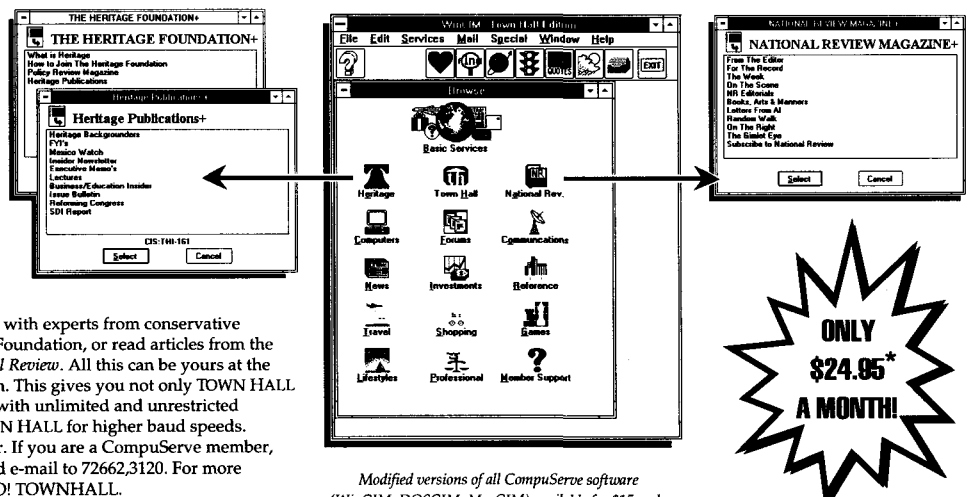

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ton is a moralist, and moralizing infuses almost everything he writes. Obviously, we are on now to something slippery. Moralizing journalists are almost always bores, mostly because they moralize so easily. Mr. Kempton's moralizing, though, is not the pallid stuff of the *New York Times* Op-Ed page, and the decline in liberal-Left polemics may be measured by the distance between him and Anna Quindlen. His moralizing springs from a deeper and more colorful place, and while it is erected on a fancy intellectual scaffold, it seems to have a discreet Christian base.

Here and there he offers hints. In 1968, in explaining how he became a McCarthy delegate to the Democratic National Convention "from the only congressional district this side of Albania where the name of Joseph Stalin still evokes some reverence," Mr. Kempton wrote about his beliefs this way:

> I ought to commence by saying how I happened on this scene. "I am, and my father was before me," John Ruskin began, "a violent Tory of the old school—Walter Scott's school, that is to say, and Homer's." I then am a violent Whig of the old school—Lord Byron's school, that is to say, and St. Thomas Aquinas's, being for whatever is the opposite of Ruskin's most sincere love of kings and dislike of everyone who attempted to disobey them. I am for Doctor Spock against the Department of Justice, and I am for Ernesto Guevara—or anyway his ghost—against the Central Intelligence Agency.

Put aside now the ritual homage to Spock and Che; in 1968, everyone on the Left talked that way. Mr. Kempton may have been unkind to poor Ruskin, but he wanted us to know he was on the side of the oppressed. The Left is always on the side of the oppressed, of course, but the nature of the oppression usually escapes it. Mr. Kempton, however, is better than that, and in a 1989 dispatch from Nicaragua he excoriated the Americans who showed up for packaged tours and then went home no wiser than when they came, but with considerably more enthusiasm for the revolution.

But then, he said, "there are the Americans who have come here, found out the worst, and stayed on the course of struggle to make it better. There will be those who condemn them for having chosen the wrong side, for there are times when too many of us have forgotten that the side of the poor can never be entirely the wrong one." That was a decent sentiment for a leftist, and surely it owed more to St. Francis and Thomas Aquinas than it did to the Ortegas. Murray Kempton may not persuade you to change political camps, but when he is at his best he may move you into at least a defensive position. □

Capital of Chaos

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

THE HUMORIST Irwin S. Cobb had a sound piece of advice for potential nut cases: If you want to go crazy, do it in Washington, where nobody will notice. Cobb died in 1944, but the flood of loonies to the nation's capital has, if anything, swollen. By 1984 it was so bad that former Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Anne M. Burford characterized Washington as, "Too small to be a state but too large to be an asylum for the mentally deranged." Nowadays—and, as a seventh-generation Washingtonian who has spent most of the last fifty years in the city of his birth, it saddens me to say so—the lunatics are running the asylum.

And what a hash they've made of it! The result of thirty years of internal self-government has been a degree of corruption, folly, race hatred, and sheer lunacy unequaled anywhere else in urban America, which is saying a great deal. As journalists Harry S. Jaffe and Tom Sherwood point out in *Dream City*, Washington, D.C., has more municipal-government employees per capita than any other city, including New York, Chicago, and Detroit. It also has the highest homicide rate of any major American city and a Third World infant-mortality rate. About 30 per cent of its dwindling population (down from more than 800,000 in 1950 to less than 600,000 today) is on the dole; and, while the population is still over 70 per cent black, in recent years thousands of educated, upwardly mobile blacks have joined the white middle-class flight to adjoining suburbs in Maryland and Virginia.

Dream City: Race, Power, and the Decline of Washington, D.C., 1964–1994, by Harry S. Jaffe and Tom Sherwood (Simon & Schuster, 383 pp., $23)

Mr. Bakshian is editor-in-chief of American Speaker.

The highest-paid city council in the country is a mockery, and D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, formerly a "two-fer" community-relations executive with a local utility company, gives a good speech but is incapable of governing. Her Honor is best known for her extravagant office-decorating budget and for using the bankrupt city's funds to pay for her personal make-up artist. She has, however, presided over at least one historic racial first. In May 1991, Washington became the first American city to experience a brown-versus-black race riot, with Hispanics rampaging against the alleged racist brutality of an overwhelmingly black police force.

Another first may have been achieved this past April when the District of Columbia's senior ethics official was busted for buying crack cocaine, perhaps inspired by the example of former D.C. Mayor Marion ("The bitch set me up") Barry, who is now out of jail, back on the City Council, and threatening to run for mayor again.

If any single person embodies the thirty years of rot that have accompanied home rule for Washington, it is the utterly shameless Mr. Barry. His character, or lack of it, dominates most of the pages of *Dream City*. The sordid story of D.C. home rule resembles the post–Civil War Reconstruction era in reverse. Mr. Barry, the college-educated son of a Delta sharecropper, was one of many Southern black carpetbaggers who flocked north to Washington in the 1960s, displacing the traditional, civic-minded local black leadership and mobilizing the poorest, least edu-

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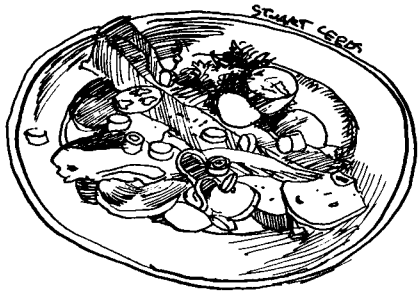
cated, and most violent elements of the local population. Since his arrival coincided with the flood of mindless spending accompanying LBJ's War on Poverty, Mr. Barry, after mastering the art of walking, talking, and misbehaving like a genuine street dude (he actually took lessons from a local gang leader, one Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield), started a long and successful career of Mau-Mauing the flak catchers.

In their meticulously detailed account of Barry's rise and the city's fall, Jaffe and Sherwood uncover the fingerprints of an amazing number of the usual liberal suspects. Barry's first $250,000 slush fund was authorized by Willard Wirth, LBJ's Labor Secretary, in the hope of buying off potential rioters. When the big riot did come in 1968, following the murder of Martin Luther King (this reviewer personally saw the smoke-silhouetted Capitol Dome from a corner window of the Longworth House Office Building), Barry curried favor both with rioters and with the establishment, alternately playing the peacemaker and haranguing the mob. Whole city blocks were looted and torched as police and soldiers stood helplessly by, under orders not to shoot. Besides such predictable wimps as Ramsey Clark and Joseph Califano, those pushing or implementing LBJ's policy of paralysis in the face of criminal violence included two future Secretaries of State: Cyrus Vance and Warren Christopher. Long shelf-life seems to be one of the hallmarks of liberal faintheartedness.

The evidence marshaled by Harry Jaffe and Tom Sherwood is all the more credible and devastating since both authors are liberal journalists and one of them, Mr. Sherwood, actually favors statehood for the District of Columbia, a happily unlikely development which would add more layers of corruption to the present municipal mess and guarantee the left wing of the Democratic Party at least four rotten boroughs in the Senate and the House.

Perhaps in spite of itself, *Dream City* is less a plea for District statehood than an argument for putting Washington into some sort of federal receivership under strong congressional supervision until such time as it restores solvency and reconstructs a competent police force, school system,



and civil service. Once civic sanity has been recovered, the District of Columbia could be reduced to a small federal corridor stretching from Capitol Hill to the White House, while the remaining business and residential bulk could be restored to the State of Maryland, which ceded the land to the District of Columbia in the first place.

Meanwhile, in the absence of reform, Washington will remain a place of magnificent vistas and wretched people, a blighted city whose motto might well be, "Where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." □

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FILM

Polished Thriller, Polish Joke

JOHN SIMON

AT LAST an action picture out of Hollywood that satisfies—the first since *In the Line of Fire*. It is called ***Speed***, which refers neither to amphetamines nor to any record-breaking velocity. The speed in question is 50 mph, which is not likely to provoke many arched eyebrows or batted eyelashes. But it is the speed below which a Los Angeles bus must not drop if it is not to be blown to smithereens by a device an ingenious and monstrous sociopath has attached to its underside.

The film, written by Graham Yost and directed by Jan De Bont, impresses first of all by its very structure. It has a sort of prologue, a main part, and a kind of epilogue. But unlike other prologues and epilogues, each of these has enough action, chills, and suspense to outfit an entire movie. There is even a kind of topographical symmetry involved. The prologue features a stalled elevator that may explode with its passengers above ground. The centerpiece, as mentioned, involves a hallucinatory ride on the ground, in which all riders plus an intrepid cop who jumps into the bus may find their destination, unscheduled by the L.A. Rapid Transit System, to be Kingdom Come. And the epilogue goes *under*ground, for a hellish subway ride, this time involving only the three principals, one handcuffed to a pole, the other two dueling to the death.

Good action movies are a reviewer's bane. How is one to fill out the allotted space without giving away too much plot? This is the sort of thing that stretches critical ingenuity to the breaking point, and sometimes beyond. The alternatives to telling too much of the story are to rehearse the director's and writer's previous credits, which can get pretty tiresome; or to rhapsodize about the actors, which is the stuff of fan magazines. So where does that leave us?

Film historians, perhaps, could make a go of it. They could tell you where *Speed* fits in the spectrum of cinematic thrillers between *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* and the many faces of James Bond. But that does not belong in this sort of publication.

Well, let me try to emulate the incomparable Pauline Kael, and see if I can analyze the personalities and audience appeal of the three main actors. First, the hero, Keanu Reeves. Last seen as the Buddha in *Little Buddha*—a catastrophe for all concerned—he has now happily transmigrated into Jack Traven, described as "an LAPD cop on SWAT detail." This is immediately engrossing: a hero with two acronyms (well, one bona-fide, and one sort-of) pinned to him derives instant prestige, which Mr. Reeves makes the most of. A Canadian with a moniker that must be unique even in exotic Canada, Keanu (pronounced key-AH-noo) has an intense face with lean, limned features that would look great in intaglio or bas relief, but isn't half bad on the big screen either. For the longest time I used to get him mixed up with River Phoenix, not because they looked alike in the least, but because they were the two parallelly rising stars of their generation, and sported a vaguely similar aura. Now that poor Phoenix won't rise again, Reeves remains the undisputed champion.

Long locks, to be sure, do not suit him, which is partly why he was such a mess as Buddha. Here his close-cropped hair and sharply etched countenance, abetted by lithe, pantherish movements, stand him in good stead. Though a young man of action, he manages to look intermittently thoughtful: not slack-jawed and cow-eyed like Sly Stallone, or terminally obnoxious like Steven Seagal. Concerned but unsentimental, relentless in a good cause, and perfectly willing to shoot his partner in the leg if that will help apprehend the villain. As it happens, it doesn't.

As that villain, we have a past master, Dennis Hopper. When a part calls for wrongdoing, Mr. Hopper can do no wrong. Here he plays a fellow who wants $3.7 million to stop producing big bangs. Though foiled once, he may well succeed the next time: when it comes to explosives, he can blow away the competition. He is casual, even ratty; but his way of taunting the LAPD is crisply, precisely exasperating. Hopper is less maniacal here than usual, and the scarier for it.

As the obligatory young woman, there is Sandra Bullock, whom, wearing my theater-critic hat, I had singled out in an off-Broadway play, but whose first movie appearances were disappointing, until she came into her own in *Wrestling Ernest Hemingway*, and now this. As Annie, the free spirit who takes the wheel of the bus, she manages to be plucky, witty, and enchanting, very much the girl any man would want to sit next to on a bus. The writing for her and Mr. Reeves, humorous as well as taut, and absolutely natural, is in the best tradition of laconic lovers in action movies. It is one of several things that make the Canadian performer–writer Graham Yost, whose first screen feature this is, seem an enormously promising scenarist.

Of course, nothing about *Speed* can be taken seriously: it is lightweight stuff, and the multi-ethnic bus passengers are strictly a paper rainbow. But nothing about the movie bores; sneeze at that who dare! Jan De Bont, a fine Dutch cameraman who has been equally impressive in Hollywood, is also making his debut here as director, and proves, to use an appositely automotive epithet, smashing. With the help of the excellent Polish-American cinematographer Andrzej Bartkowiak, Mr. De Bont nudges the camera effortlessly into the trickiest spots (nooks, crannies, shafts, undersides—you name it), where it ferrets out every conceivable bit of added excitement. He understands that, to keep dubiety at bay, he mustn't ever slow down below 50 mph either. And he doesn't: this bus really delivers. As do the elevator and the subway.

■ The Polish filmmaker Krzysztof Kieslowski's ***White***, the second part of his color trilogy, is every bit as irritating as was the first, *Blue*; the third part, *Red*, has just been shown at Cannes, and augurs equally well. These are the three colors of the French flag, and the themes of the

Mr. Simon is NR's film critic.

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three films allegedly derive from the French revolutionary slogan: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Mr. Kieslowski likes these pseudo-profound schemas: he has also made Decalogue, a sequence of ten films about the Commandments, which I haven't seen, and the dreadful *Double Life of Véronique*, in which a dead Polish girl and a living French one are somehow corresponding alter egos. *Blue*, a maundering, meandering piece of complacent pretension about a woman whose composer husband died in a car crash and who is lethargically picking up the pieces of her not particularly shattered life, has very little to tell us about Liberty, and *White* does equally poorly by Equality, besides being preposterous on any level.

Karol, a Polish hairdresser in Paris, has married a Frenchwoman; they don't speak each other's language, and now Karol cannot even make love to his beloved Dominique any more. Why? No explanation. There is a divorce hearing at which his lawyers have to translate every word for him into Polish, even *non*. Divorce granted, Dominique owns every *sou* Karol had, and he, apparently friendless, spends the night in what is now her hair salon, where Dominique discovers him. They try to make love, but he can't. Furious, she sets the curtains on fire, and sics the police on him as an arsonist. He ends up in the *métro*, playing a Polish song on his comb and begging.

A Polish passerby, Mikolaj, takes pity on Karol and smuggles him back into Poland by plane, hiding him in his trunk (a likely story!). Bandits steal the trunk, are disappointed by its contents, and brutally dump Karol—of all places—near his home, where his brother is running the old hair salon. By a far-fetched stratagem, Karol appropriates a corrupt land-grabbing scheme from a pair of crooks (who don't kill him for it), and gets filthy rich, and no longer inept in the least.

Karol pretends to die, leaves all his money to Dominique, and books a flight to Hong Kong, where Mikolaj has bought a house for him. Dominique comes to Warsaw for the funeral, becomes all teary, and is overjoyed when, at night in her hotel room, the putative ghost of Karol turns out to be the real thing, with whom she now makes mad, magnificent love. Even his French is vastly improved. Hong Kong is forgotten, but by some absurd plot twist (engineered by Karol?), the police arrest Dominique for her ex's murder. In the last scene, Karol is let into the prison courtyard by night, carrying a pie for his love. Although Dominique couldn't possibly see him from her cell window, she mimes her love for him, and Karol beams. I tell you this plot so you can see how stupid it is; the details I omit are stupider yet.

But this wretched Krzysztof Kieslowski is considered a major director. Julie Delpy (Dominique) is a charming actress, and deserves better. Zbigniew Zamachowski (Karol) is a pudgy, slimy nonentity—and one of the most popular actors in Poland today. The co-screenwriter with Mr. Kieslowski is his usual collaborator, Krzysztof Piesiewicz, a lawyer, and thus presumably beyond feelings of shame. Mr. Kieslowski actually knows how to direct individual scenes, but I don't know why this should make people think he has anything to say. □

MANNERS IN LOS ANGELES

Book 'Em

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

THERE is a paradox at the heart of bookselling. Being a businessman, the owner of a bookstore ought to think like other businessmen. On the other hand, being part of the literary and academic worlds, he's often led in more fanciful directions. The result is a tension that, at this year's convention of the American Booksellers Association, popped up everywhere.

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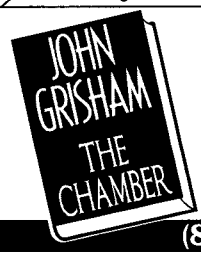

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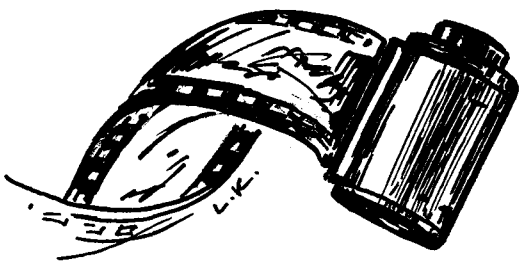
ered at the Convention Center in Los Angeles, wandering through four immense halls where publishers had set up booths and pavilions featuring next year's books. The point is to let bookshops start thinking about their upcoming orders. So in this sense serious business is conducted everywhere. But to get an idea of what booksellers really care about, you need to listen to what they say when they think they're among their own. And the topics, political and technological, that got serious attention demonstrate how lost in space the culture of bookselling really is.

You had to keep reminding yourself this was not the Modern Language Association. The titles of the panel discussions, which were going on several at a time at all hours, tell all: "Feminist Roundtable," "Gay/Lesbian Roundtable," "African-American Roundtable," "Evening with African-American Booksellers," "Literature of the [1992 L.A.] Rebellion," "Multicultural Publishing Update," and so on.

Talk of race and sex flowed everywhere but from the spigots in the Convention Center washrooms. No panel could gather without a quorum of disgruntled minority members, or white people who sought to swipe minority status from the minorities themselves. My favorite example of the former: the self-identified "Chicana and lesbiana" writer Cherrie Moraga, who berated Californians for failing to call their land "Atzlan," as the Aztecs did, and for refusing to pronounce Southwestern place names in the "authentic" Hispanic accent Miss Moraga favors: "Lohs Ahnhelays," "Nevahtha," "Tehhas." My favorite white person who wished to be otherwise: the novelist Carolyn See, who, on the same panel ("Los Angeles: My Literary Landscape"), complained in a jolly way that "as a person whose background is part Irish, part Scottish, and part English, it makes me feel funny being called 'white.' "

And yet the booksellers listened with a polite seriousness that only partly concealed a lack of passionate interest in the thoughts of such as Miss Moraga. Like so many well-meaning people today, these folks view the Third World as medicine they must take, and a lot of it, no matter how unappealing. I realized this during a poignant stretch of time following a "book and author breakfast," where a writer called Ana Castillo (representing "the energetic and heady world of Chicana writing," as a



press handout advertised) had spoken earnestly alongside Anna Quindlen, of the *New York Times*, and Michael Crichton, of *Jurassic Park*. Afterward, Miss Quindlen and Mr. Crichton were mobbed with questions from the audience, while nobody could think of anything to ask Miss Castillo. ("Now see here, precisely how heady *is* the world of Chicana writing?")

At any reference to unconventional sex, however, the conventioneers perked up—as for instance when heads jerked to attention at Walter Mosley's call for "more scenes, on television, of rectal bleeding in prison." It was during a discussion of "Murder, Mayhem, and the Media: Have We Gone Too Far?" and Mr. Mosley, President Clinton's favorite mystery writer, mentioned televised rectal bleeding as one way to scare kids and discourage them from doing things that might put them in jail.

Yes, I am still talking here about a *booksellers* convention. But in fact, at this ABA, books took second place to another form of communication: CD-ROM. If conventioneers weren't talking about multiculturalism or multisexualism, they were extolling the great promise of "electronic publishing." Computers were everywhere. In the past year, half the publishers seem to have launched electronic divisions.

At the center of the most expansive hall, the leading electronic publishing company, Voyager, set up its pavilion, and here eyes popped wider than at anything Walter Mosley said. The "product" is not an electronic "book" in the sense of a continuous text you sit down and read in order. To be sure, I met a woman on the Voyager publicity staff who claimed she had read all of Jane Austen's novels on a computer screen. When I asked to see a real book on a computer, she showed me *Jurassic Park* on a Mac Powerbook. Imagine looking at a little black-and-white dot-matrix screen for as many hours as it would take you to read a four-hundred-page novel, and you'll have some notion of the way your eyes would rebel by, say, page twenty.

As compensation for the physical discomfort, the publicity person demonstrated special features: such as one where you hear simulated dinosaur growls by "clicking on" the name of the dinosaur as you reach it in the text. "Click," and a diminutive squeaking noise is emitted by the Powerbook. Voilà! Tyrannosaurus rex!

In fact, the real electronic money is in a kind of interactive educational CD-ROM for kids. A pretty nifty example is called *The Way Things Work* (D/K Multimedia); it features a semi-animated woolly mammoth that directs you through a computer-generated series of visual displays explaining how various appliances, from microwave ovens to submarines, do what they do.

The usefulness of a CD-ROM disk (basically a CD disk you can stick in your computer) stems from its huge storage capacity; so, you could fit an entire set of the Oxford English Dictionary on one, or the software for a complex combination of text, visuals, and sounds, like *The Way Things Work*. The booksellers were captivated by the commercial possibilities.

But even a brilliant program on CD-ROM will fascinate your kids for a limited time. There are all kinds of pathways you can take through an interactive educational program, the idea being that children learn best by making connections between concepts represented by snazzy graphic images, preferably talking animals. But the number of pathways is limited by the ingenuity of the programmer—every move you make has been preplanned. The experience is nothing like setting your kid free in a well stocked library, where his choices and freedom to make connections are truly unlimited.

As a hopeful bookstore representative declared during a panel discussion, "I don't care if these machines are babysitting the kids. They're hav-

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR*'s literary editor.*

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ing a great time." Surely, though, it will occur to thoughtful parents that every minute their kids spend "having a great time" in this way is a minute they are not spending reading a proper book, or playing in the fresh air. And one assumes this realization, along with the eye-torture of reading a computerized book, will affect sales.

Yet, at every public discussion of the new technology, there was the inevitable gullible audience member, expressing the excited thoughts of others, who piped up to ask, "Many people are wondering, will this mean the end of books?" Or, as a story about the convention in the *Los Angeles Times* put it, "Get ready to curl up with a good computer." A bookseller on one panel complained about "technophobes" and "technosnobs," but for the people who seriously believe computers can displace real books, another neologism is called for: "technosuckers."

Well, if booksellers can stay in business selling multiculturalism and CD-ROM, it's their business, after all. And what better venue could there be for a convention of such businessmen? If there's an American city suited to turning fantasy into reality, in the form of U.S. currency, it is Los Angeles.

Uh, that should be Lohs Ahnhelays. Or, um, should I say Atzlan? □

DELECTATIONS

Adults Only

DIGBY ANDERSON

AFTER a rather good lunch at the Sagua in Miami's South Beach (grouper, snapper, and Rioja), Mrs. A. and I were gently wandering back to the beach for a nap, some sun, swimming, and that joy that beaches afford so well, the opportunity to eavesdrop on other people's conversations. They are on the beach so long they cannot not talk about themselves, which in the U.S.A. usually means their "relationships." The best place is near the water's edge, where there is always a slight breeze so they have to raise their voices. Get downwind and you can learn about the life of the world.

Anyway, as we were crossing Collins Avenue, I saw a rather frail elderly white man. You may picture him, if you wish, sitting peacefully under a front-porch palm in slacks, open-necked shirt, and Panama, with a gin and angostura in one hand and a Chesterton novel in the other. But that is not what he looked like or what he was doing. He was sweating heavily and looked in distress—what you could see of him, that is: for he had a baseball cap on his head, turned back to front, and dark, reflective glasses covered his eyes. He wore a skimpy T-shirt with dark sweat patches under the armpits, very tight latex shorts also with dark stains, and he was all wired up to a machine producing, I imagine, lower-class music. He was coming slowly but remorselessly toward us, out of control, on roller skates.

There is no record of Saint Paul visiting South Beach, but he should have. Indeed I would have liked him with us there and on other parts of the trip, for instance in New Orleans, and indeed in places I didn't go this time such as San Francisco: can you imagine the First, Second, and no doubt there would have to be a Third Epistle to the San Franciscans? Saint Paul is sound on sodomy but he is also sound on social divisions, on class—masters and servants—and of course on ladies and gents. But it is less often noted how sound he is on the behavior becoming different ages. Sometimes he writes explicitly of the characteristics of full Christian adulthood. But I was thinking more of the implicit assumptions: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, I roller skated as children do; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." Roller-skates are, except for a few sports skaters, toys, children's things. But they had not been put away.

Back on the beach, we found much to our pleasure that a couple of ladies had set up their chairs just next to us in full hearing. They wore curious bikinis that did not seem to have any backs to them and they had big bottoms. Round the girls was a crowd of chaps bantering away furiously. They talked about their own and their friends' relationships, which club the gang had all been to last night, where they would all meet tonight. Nothing unusual or wrong in young people enjoying being in largish peer groups with all the showing off, joshing, and uniformity that characterizes such groups. That's how many 14-year-olds behave. Except that the bottoms and their admirers were all aged 40.

Now it would be quite wrong to suggest that all South Beach was full of people who had not grown up. Many people on the beach were "being their age," enjoying themselves, relaxing without any toys or adolescent habits. But my group of overgrown children were not the only ones. What is more important, no one seemed to find them unusual or odd.

New Orleans was another story. All along the levees were new-generation hippies, proudly, in their shifty, lazy way, refusing the responsibilities of adulthood. Around ten they got up and shambled to the far side of Decatur where they begged—able-bodied 25-year-olds begging with the monotonous bleat, "Can you spare some change?" When they were given some they grunted, then giggled with their friends. And they too were tolerated. No one moved them on. No one looked shocked. Begging is not shocking, of course, but able-bodied adults begging are.

How odd that hippiedom dare show its face again. We know now where peace and love ended, in squalor, in the extension of drug addiction to the middle classes, in crime, in the collapse of the academy. We know where it would have liked to end up too: in the West losing the Cold War. So why is it back and why is it not mocked and persecuted out of existence? In a bar the radio was playing Seventies favorites, including one song the only words of which I could make out were the chorus: "Things are only as important as you want them to be." Life, of course, is about

(Continues on page 68)

Mr. Anderson, an NR *contributing editor, is the editor of* The Loss of Virtue *(National Review Books).*

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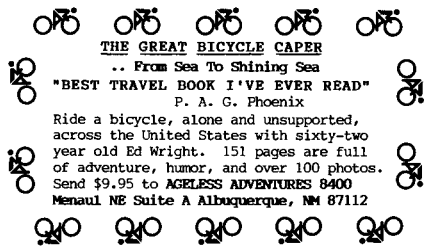
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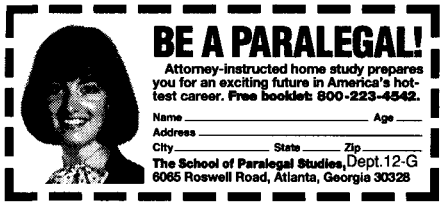
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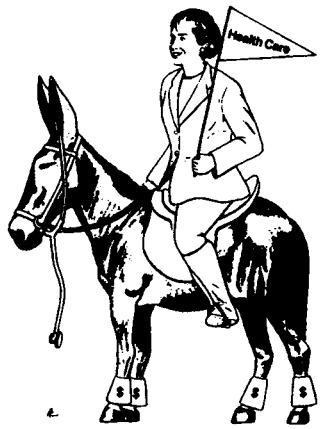

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ANDERSON

(Continued from page 65)

learning the exact opposite, that a petulant refusal to face the way things are and the rights of others is a reaction tolerable only in the youngest of children and not to be encouraged even in them. There were many things wrong with hippiedom but its essence was childishness, saying "I won't" to the world.

In Port Aransas, Texas, I saw no adult children. Plenty of adults enjoying themselves, mostly fishing, but no infantilism. The last instance of that was in Yucatán, and it was quite different from the absurdity of the geriatric roller-skater or the pathetic hippies. In Playa del Carmen a group of middle-class American 40-year-olds were out celebrating one of their number's birthday. They ordered quite well: lobster tails (which I'm sure were frozen), octopus ceviche, snapper. With this food, three of them drank Coca-Cola. Now hold on. I like Coca-Cola. I approve of Coca-Cola. I drink Coca-Cola. But you don't drink it with fine fish. You drink dry white wine. Who says? Tradition says. The-way-things-have-been-found-to-be says. People with better taste than you, I, and the three diners say. You don't care what tradition or good taste says? You want it and you're going to have it? That is the reaction of a child.

America is involved in a long examination of what is wrong with a society that can produce so much crime, disorder, and incivility. Well, maybe part of it has to do with age. It has to do with people being allowed to continue to indulge childish appetites on adult incomes.

Why the tolerance? Because of a sentimental belief in the natural innocence of childhood, and an admiration for the vigor that is characteristic of youth. But children are not angels; they are at least as much savages. And vigor that is not morally directed is crime or just flailing around. Childish behavior in adults is not charming, or refreshing. It is pathetic and possibly dangerous.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Growing in Faith: A Guide for the Reluctant Christian, by David Yount (Regnery, 342 pp., $16)

THIS is a very helpful primer gathered from talks Mr. Yount has given over the years at St. Mary Chapel in Chicago and St. Alban's Parish in Washington, where he taught classes for non-Christians preparing to marry practicing Christians. The aim is less to convince than to inform, to sort through the prayers and creeds and denominations. Like the best apologetics it is the testimony of a formidable mind still able to see how implausible each claim or idea must seem to the outsider. "There is nothing original here, nor should there be, because you want authenticity, not creativity"—though in fact we do find some fresh formulations along the way, as in his reflection that even "if Christianity could be proven beyond the shadow of a doubt, there would still be room for indifference." Running through all the discussions is the reminder that whether we respond with a Yea or a Nay, a shrug is not among the available alternatives. The worst mistake, he believes, is the fashion of viewing each religion as some sort of spiritual boutique from which we may choose what suits us best: "What do you get when you try to make your own religion? In all likelihood you will end with a sentimental mishmash masquerading as the wisdom of the ages." —MATTHEW SCULLY

Entering Jewish Prayer: A Guide to Personal Devotion and the Worship Service, by Reuven Hammer (Schocken, 350 pp., $25)

THE destruction of the Temple in ancient Jerusalem changed the course not only of Jewish history but of world history, for one result of it was the development of prayer as Western religion understands it. Jewish prayer is more than an entreaty of the divine or a replacement for sacrifices; it is also study, remembrance, praise, and, says, Reuven Hammer, "the history of the Jewish people through the eyes of the rabbinic Sages." Rabbi Hammer lays out the conceptual framework of contemporary Jewish prayer, exploring how the daily prayer services gradually became standardized. While thinner on the details of the liturgy than Hayim Donin's *To Pray as a Jew*, this book provides a more accessible introduction for the unsynagogued. Rabbi Hammer conveys the discipline of Jewish prayer without making it seem constraining, encourages personal expression without verging on the saccharine, and above all challenges the reader to start somewhere. Anyone wishing to do so should also consult the excellent Artscroll prayerbook, which contains, in addition to the complete Hebrew liturgy and a sophisticated English translation, copious notes on everything from the history and meaning of the prayers to instructions on home rituals and the synagogue service. —MARK MILLER

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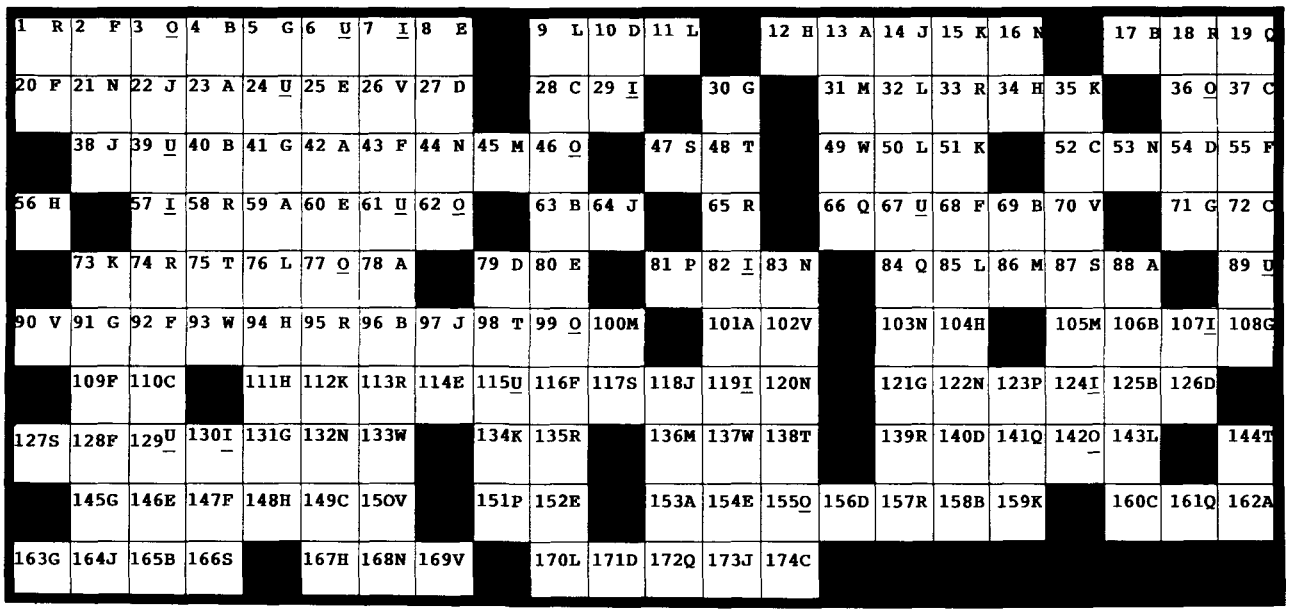
TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Forties dance — 153 101 88 23 162 78 13 42 59

B. Unlike Congress —financially — 125 17 165 40 106 4 63 158 96 69

C. Rabble — 149 28 160 72 174 52 110 37

D. Sunday dinner staple — 171 79 140 126 54 10 27 156

E. Spry — 8 25 146 80 60 152 154 114

F. Unfortunately, Bill Clinton was this — 20 92 116 147 109 68 128 2 55 43

G. Within one's means — 30 145 41 71 108 121 5 91 131 163

H. To do with ships — 104 12 148 56 94 111 167 34

I. Leading position, militarily — 119 130 29 124 107 82 57 7

J. The West — 14 38 22 118 164 173 64 97

K. Slim kind of chance — 112 15 73 51 134 35 159

L. Pond vessels — 76 32 9 85 170 50 143 11

M. Greeting to a certain cow (2 words) — 105 86 136 100 45 31

N. Like Congress's appetite for spending — 44 168 83 122 16 21 103 53 132 120

O. Resonant — 155 36 46 77 3 99 142 62

P. Eleanor Smeal's group — 123 151 81

Q. Toward a forward point — 141 19 66 84 161 172

R. Achievement — 33 74 139 113 157 95 65 135 58 18 1

S. Civvies — 166 87 127 117 47

T. Moving about — 144 138 48 98 75

U. The lunch hour — 129 67 39 6 61 24 89 115

V. Wore — 169 90 102 26 150 70

W. Relative of Def. L — 133 137 49 93

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. EDWIN FEULNER: *Propaganda:* "If you surveyed all the commencement addresses being given this spring on our nation's campuses, you would be dismayed by the elitist, multicultural, politically correct effluvia that is flowing forth over the graduates."

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Ed Murrow vs. Joe McCarthy

NEW YORK, JUNE 14

CBS has just given us a special documentary, *Edward R. Murrow vs. Joseph R. McCarthy*. I cannot imagine that a documentary on Joseph Goebbels vs. Mother Teresa would be weighted more distinctly. One of the mortifying things about the anti-McCarthy legend is what it is actually telling us about the American people, namely that during the Fifties we were fools, cowards, and sadists. That isn't my memory of the McCarthy era, about which I was at one point a serious student, having written (with L. Brent Bozell) a book on the subject, *McCarthy and His Enemies*. It was on the whole a defensive book about McCarthy, though one critic counted over fifty criticisms of the senator, and McCarthy himself, though friendly, declined to endorse it. The purpose of which is to say that in handling that chapter in American history, it is possible to make some distinctions. There aren't many in the CBS documentary.

The tone of it is well cast early on when Edward Dmytryk comes on screen. Dmytryk was one of the Hollywood Ten. It is fashionable to lionize these Ten, who went to jail for refusing to cooperate with congressional committees, but it is a fact, for instance, that Dmytryk was a member of the Communist Party. How do we know? Because he acknowledged that he was (April 25, 1951).

Dmytryk says for CBS, "Being dubbed a Communist was worse than being dubbed a rapist, a wife killer, or anything else in those days." But that doesn't really clarify the point. Everybody knows that in every society there are rapists and murderers. But the great shock of the Fifties was that 250 million people in Eastern Europe were living lives indistinguishable from life under Adolf Hitler, to end whose reign we had fought a very bloody and costly world war. The idea that there were Americans around who defended, indeed applauded—in some cases, spied for—Josef Stalin and his Gulag was thought treacherous and morally disgraceful. And drew the kind of attention not drawn by murderers, who are thought of as aberrational in a sense entirely different from such people as encouraged—as Dmytryk did—a bloody, expansionist slave empire.

The narrator (Dan Rather) tells the audience that "events at home were making them [Americans] uneasy, like Alger Hiss—a former U. S. State Department official—accused of spying for the Soviets." *Accused* of spying for the Soviets? That's on the order of saying that Hugh Hefner has been accused of favoring sexual freedom. Hiss was tried and convicted.

Time is given to Bartley Crum, identified as "an attorney who paid a terribly high price for legally representing Communists . . . Bartley Crum committed suicide in 1959 . . . 'I think he did it,'" his daughter recites, "'because he was exhausted by the harassment . . . I don't think he ever got over that, the shock of what happened, the evils that were perpetrated by McCarthy.'" Oh Lordy, Lordy. Bartley Crum was a prominent fellow-traveler who ardently defended the Communists, in print and in court. He was a tragically mixed-up man who, before the end of his life, rejoined the Catholic Church. His suicide, two years after McCarthy's death, was unrelated to McCarthy, but might have been related to Crum's past.

Fred Friendly, one of the most idealistic men in public life and one of the brightest, produced the famous attack on McCarthy by Ed Murrow, and now tells us, "I was scared in 1954." I hate to say it about an old friend, but I don't believe him. I find easier to believe the answer given during the McCarthy years by the late John Roche (much more conspicuously liberal than Fred Friendly in that he served as National Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action) when asked if he was scared of McCarthy. He answered that McCarthy came in approximately 27th in the list of what scared John Roche, between his fear of college presidents and his fear of being eaten alive by piranhas.

The reviewer for *The New Yorker* commented on CBS's treatment of McCarthy in 1954 that it was a moral profanation. If you aim a camera at someone for an entire week, you can assume that at one point he will belch. Open your documentary with its subject belching, and you set the tone for your treatment of it. During the Eighties an assistant film editor for Ed Murrow confessed that such flagrant bite-manipulation had been done; indeed, he reports that chairman of the board Bill Paley was infuriated on hearing of it.

I swear, nothing McCarthy ever did—and he did many indefensible things—can ever compare with the lengths to which his enemies went and continue to go. Bertrand Russell actually said that McCarthy had made it unsafe for Americans to read Thomas Jefferson. Robert Hutchins actually said that so cowed were we all by McCarthy that it took courage to contribute support to Harvard. And now there are those who, like the *New York Times*' Tom Wicker, defending Owen Lattimore, conclude that the Cold War was itself a delusion. McCarthyism gradually emerges as a threat that displaces Communism. □

Rosty's Contempt

NEW YORK, JUNE 3

The unfurling story of Dan Rostenkowski tells us a great deal about American justice. At the end of the week it was reported that he would do as advised by counsel and plead guilty, in return for gentle treatment. A few days later, we were told that he had decided against the deal and would fight and, as the saying goes, establish his innocence. A few days after that we heard that he would fire his lawyer. Concerning these maneuvers, a few observations:

1. Is it fair to "assume" that someone who is indicted is "guilty"?

Obviously we know that no one is guilty *under the law* unless a jury so declares him. But what this tells us is merely whether or not someone is going to go to jail. How a jury deliberates does not, in every situation, govern the conclusions of a thoughtful public.

2. Some years ago, the question was put to Professor Alan Dershowitz, the Harvard law professor and defense attorney: Do people assume that someone who is indicted is guilty? His answer was a) yes, they do; and b) properly so. He went on to explain that if the prima-facie case against a criminal defendant weren't overwhelmingly plausible, then to get so far as indicting him in the first

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instance was itself a most awful indictment of our society. If the great majority of those who are indicted are not thereafter convicted, then a true grievance against the prosecutorial arm of justice is overdue.

3. By these lights, no sane American is really going to suppose that an indictment of one of the three or four most powerful men in Washington became possible in the absence of absolutely overwhelming evidence. Catching Dan Rostenkowski raiding the till and making a federal case out of it is different from a vice squad's accidentally stumbling into a room that has the Prince of Wales in it. That all of that money was accidentally collected, and accidentally distributed to private accounts, is something people aren't prepared to believe.

Now this doesn't mean that it is inconceivable that a Menendez-style trial lies ahead of us, in which all of a sudden America is advised by a jury punch-drunk by legal machinations that it could not convict the Menendez kids of the murder of their parents. What fascinates about Rostenkowski is that he is betting that this is possible to bring off in his case. The people who indicted the Menendez kids had no alternative but to prosecute. The people who investigated Rosty had every conceivable alternative begging for adoption. Among other things, they have been preparing to prosecute the man who is primarily responsible for appropriating their payroll.

Even so, Rosty decides on the great gamble. Robert Bennett, his celebrated attorney, had whittled the government down to six months in jail and a mincing little fine. Rosty ended by saying, The hell with it, I'll take my chances on all 17 counts of the indictment—which, if they are substantiated and if the judge is severe, could end him up in prison on the one-hundredth anniversary of the Normandy landings.

There are anomalous difficulties ahead. Mr. R. just recently won a hard-fought primary, and for all we know, the voters in his home district would vote for him even in jail, as has happened before in American history.

But it's also possible that the protocols of the law notwithstanding, the voters are going to conclude: Whatever the jury comes up with, in our view, Dan Rostenkowski is guilty. He is a cheat and a fraud, and it hurts especially to say that about the person on whom the whole country has primarily relied to orient federal taxes and spending.

He would be without his committee chairmanship even if he had taken the advice of his lawyer, but he is now betting everything on successful chicanery in court. □

Sobering Up

NEW YORK, JUNE 6

In a searching review of Stephen Ambrose's *D-Day, June 6, 1944*, the *New York Times* reviewer, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, writes, "Again and again, they"—American survivors—"describe how they gathered their wits, took command of themselves and the survivors around them, and pressed ahead toward some objective, whether it was simply shooting back or crossing a stretch of sand or scaling an escarpment and knocking out a machine-gun nest. They did what they did because they were scared out of their minds, too dumb to know better, drunk on alcohol or simply beyond caring about survival. They knew what to do because they had been trained to a point where they didn't have to think about their actions. As Mr. Ambrose stresses, they were thus able to exercise initiative. In his view, Hitler gambled on the conviction that 'totalitarian fanaticism and discipline would always conquer democratic liberalism and softness.' And Hitler lost."

The observations of historian Stephen Ambrose seep into the mind at the end of a week airborne in the memory of valor and purpose. All of America had personal experiences with June 4–6, mostly via the home television set, which transmitted unforgettably the sights and the sounds of Omaha Beach, and Caen, and Pegasus Bridge fifty years after. My own experience included crossing the Atlantic Ocean on a liner in which over two hundred Normandy veterans traveled en route to the celebrations. And there were others bound for Normandy. One man spoke with a slight accent. He lives in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and was Normandy-bound to celebrate his own liberation—from Dachau. He was then twenty and had lived five years in the camps. He showed pictures of himself and other inhabitants, a picture of men starving almost to death. The blur of 1944, the great crusade, reached into 1945 when Nazism was finally over, the forlorn survivors of Dachau brought back to life.

What creeps into the distillery of the mind is the vexing question of motive. No one doubts that the crusade for Europe had the noble objective of removing from power the monster who dominated Western Europe. But over the weekend we tried to make out of this a syllogism that doesn't quite work, and Stephen Ambrose's words tell us something here not entirely harmonious with the rhetoric of self-congratulation. Ambrose tells us that Hitler assumed the superior prowess of Nazi-trained soldiers because democratic liberalism would breed softness, whereas the reverse was true. But the proposition is shaky. It runs up into hard truths, which include:

1. In order to have any chance of succeeding, the invasion of France did require the enormously impressive logistical operation that was Operation Overlord. But the invasion's success was not an aspect of the liberal, democratic background of our military. If Rommel had been on the scene, had had the authority to counterattack at two in the morning of June 6 rather than 12 hours later, the invasion would have been repelled.

2. The forces against which we contended included, to be sure, hard, trained Nazi veterans. But they were also substantially made up of German kids, and conscripts from various parts of Europe. Notwithstanding, these German divisions held back our mighty juggernaut for six weeks. And, six months later, came very close to turning the tide of battle against us at the Belgian Bulge. Hitler's rockets matured at just about D-Day, and if they had been trained on the beaches rather than on London suburbs, Hitler might have won the day.

3. If a dozen historians set out to record the valorous performances of individual German soldiers young and old and of Soviet soldiers young and old, as thick a book of heroic deeds would result as those over which we gloried during the great celebration. Soldiers on the march are not palpably animated by the nobility of their cause. The twenty-year-old German soldier directed by Hitler's lieutenants, the twenty-year-old Russian soldier directed by Stalin's lieutenants, the twenty-year-old Japanese soldier directed by Tojo's lieutenants is going to cross stretches of sand, scale escarpments, and knock out machine guns even as twenty-year-old Americans did.

It is our confidence in enduring truths that tells us that the soldiers in Normandy who attacked were serving great ends while the soldiers who defended were serving ignoble ends. But the evidence is not there that the machinery of injustice, at the margin, yields to the machinery of justice.

We are indeed the children of sacrifice. But the sacrifice we made in Normandy had also other children, who under Stalin and his successors lost every day for 45 years as many lives as we lost on June 6, 1944. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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The New Hypochondriacs

I AM the opposite of a hypochondriac, whatever that is. I consulted the thesaurus for an antonym but hypochondria has no entry of its own. It is listed under Dejection, along with typical Roget synonyms like "infestivity." The antonyms are listed under Cheerfulness and include "canty."

My vocabulary problem arises from the fact that hypochondriacs have cornered both sides of the neurosis. They are obsessed with being sick, but they are also obsessed with being well, so it is impossible to be the opposite of a hypochondriac. All I can do is state my philosophy: If whisky or salt won't cure it, then to hell with it. I worry about important things. I'll sit up all night nursing an ailing paragraph, but I refuse to bow down before the latest sacred udder. I never had a mammogram and never hope to get one, and far from dreading mastectomy, the subject makes me positively canty: I could get a better fit in a shoulder holster.

American hypochondria has undergone an interesting change in recent years. The classic or "normal" hypochondriac simply wanted to be sick so he could want to get well. He did not want others to be sick lest they steal his thunder, and he did not harbor any hostility to healthy people; indeed, he was very fond of them and liked having them around because they made him seem sicker.

The New Hypochondria throbs with the morbid narcissism of liberalism. New Hypochondriacs don't really want to be either sick or well, but rather "information receptive" and "medically aware"—code words for intelligent and educated and thus a delineator of class, a way of separating the people who read "The Forgotten Spleen" in the *Washington Post* Sunday Health section from the people who don't. To the New Hypochondriacs, the fun lies not in the croup kettles and mustard plasters of times past; they want to skip both illness and health so they can get to prevention and recovery, codependency and enabling, and have vanity plates that say SUVIVR.

The hypochondria of education and awareness is why we have commercials for medicines whose purpose is never revealed. These spots invariably sound like snide academics sitting on the floor playing Scrabble.

"Like many people, you're probably curious about Rogaine," the shill begins. He goes on in that vein, with teasers like, "Of course you want to know more about Rogaine," but he never says what Rogaine is or what it's for. "Ask your doctor about Rogaine," he concludes, adding in an offensively high-handed tone: "Go on, what are you waiting for?"

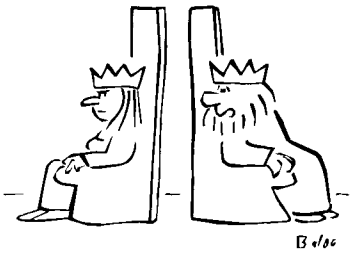
Then there's the colloquy between the pharmacist and the customer. The customer hands over a prescription for "Cardizem SR" and the pharmacist asks, "Have you tried Cardizem CD?"

"No, can you give me Cardizem CD?" asks the customer.

"Only your doctor can prescribe Cardizem CD," chides the pharmacist.

"Cardizem CD? Okay, I'll ask my doctor."

We never find out what Cardizem SR is, much less Cardizem CD, but we don't really want to know. The human spirit needs tantalizing mysteries but our supply has run out. Now that femmes fatales practice total honesty, medicine is the only thing left that keeps us guessing.



"Still mad?"

As New Hypochondriacs convince themselves that the only thing we have to fear is food itself, a bitter resentment against the French is peeping out of the lucubrations of the politically correct. France, long the nirvana of alienated intellectuals who want to escape crass America, is the land of the pig-out. Butter, lard, goose liver pâté, and two packs of Gauloises a day, and still France lives. Our medically aware elite is hurt by this picture of health, but they are incapable of grasping—or admitting—the reasons for it.

The French are a secure, adult people who are proud of their language and culture and never apologize for being French (quite the contrary). They are also a homogeneous people, and thus never come down with Americanoma Diversititis Democratosis, which kills with kindness. Above all, although they are not religious, they are Catholic, a seeming conflict that they understand perfectly and that gives them a stress-defying spiritual ease that few Americans know. You couldn't clog a French artery if you injected it with silicone.

WE ARE LIVING in ironic times and I relish the coming spectacle. The New Hypochondriacs are all pumped up from exposure to shows like The Learning Channel's week-long series, "The Operation," which features complete surgical procedures, a different one for each day, like a teenage girl's underpants. What happens when they get hit with socialized medicine? Hypochondriacs need complete medical freedom to do their stuff, but the same government that made them medically aware is now promising two bureaucrats in every pot and Hillary in the garage.

The Nanny State soon will need a cautionary tale, so I have written one for them:

When they came for the smokers I kept silent because I don't smoke. When they came for the meat eaters I kept silent because I'm a vegetarian. When they came for the gun owners I kept silent because I'm a pacifist. When they came for the drivers I kept silent because I'm a bicyclist.

They never did come for me. I'm still here because there's nobody left in the secret police except sissies with rickets.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's will publish The Florence King Reader, *an anthology, early next year.*

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Pano Karatassos, Chops Restaurant Owner, with Patricia Kellett, VP Sales and Marketing, National Linen Service.

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Patricia Kellett, VP Sales and Marketing, National Linen, notes that customers like the way Premira soaks up spills, won't slip from the lap or shed lint like other linen. "A prominent restaurant needs table linen that makes a good impression in every respect, every time it's brought to the table."

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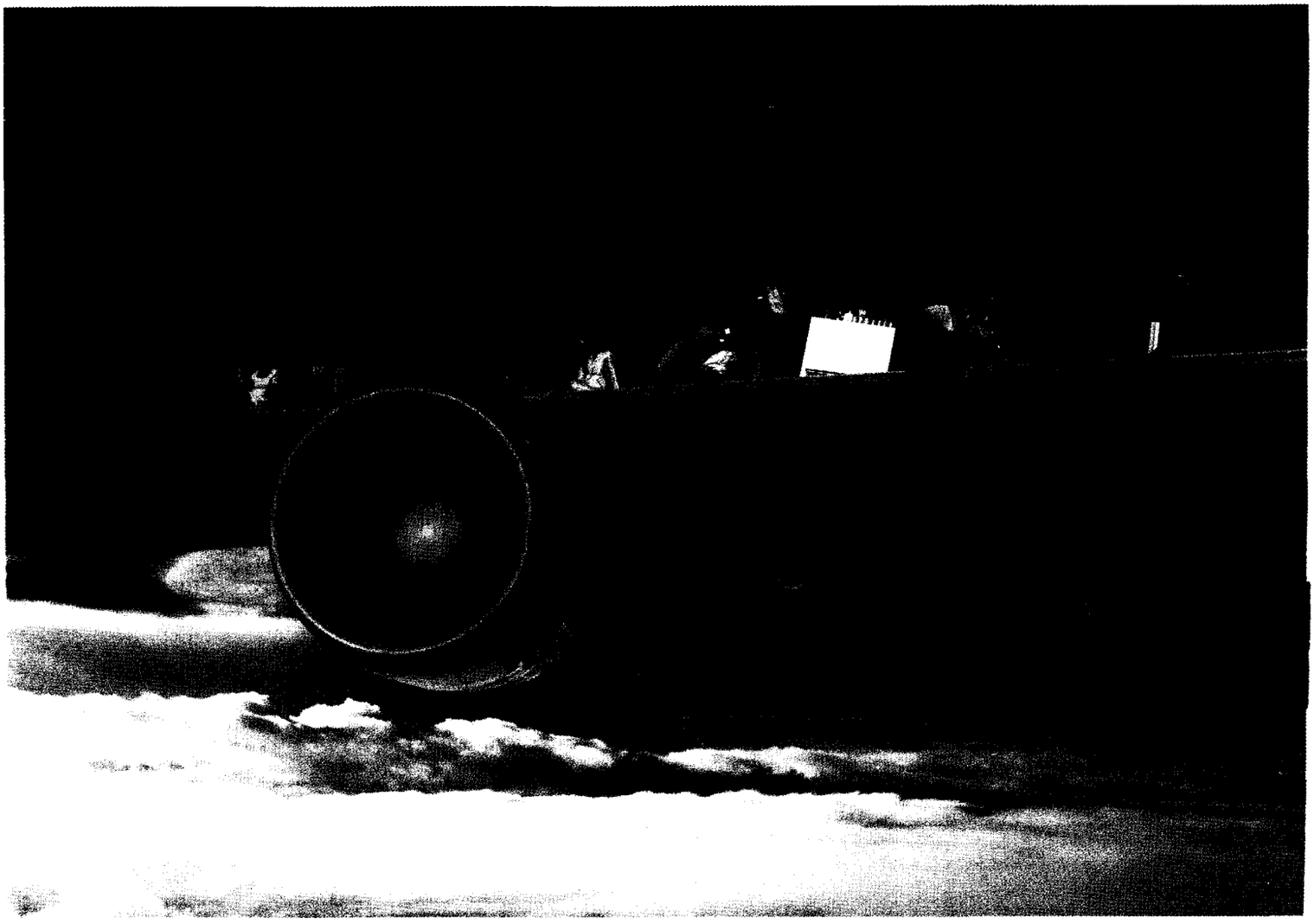

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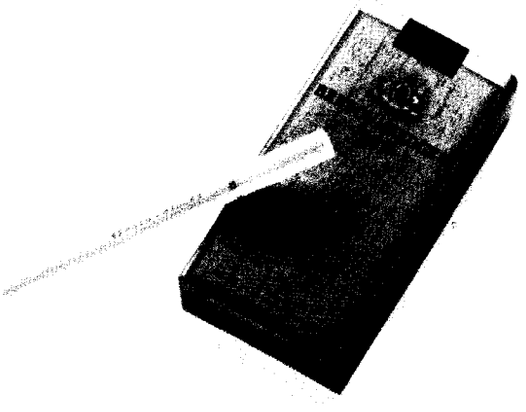

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